

**THE PSYCHOLOGIST
IN THE SCHOOLS**

Susan W. Gray

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George Peabody College for Teachers

HOLT, RINEHART AND WINSTON, INC.

New York Chicago San Francisco Toronto London

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Library of Congress Catalog Card Number: 63-13760

23253-0113

Printed in the United States of America

PREFACE

This book has, in large measure, grown out of my personal experiences in working with the school psychology training program at George Peabody College. Over the years those of us working in the program have continually asked ourselves questions concerning optimal roles for psychologists in the schools of the present and future. And in a training program, once having made provisional answers to these questions, we have been impelled to attempt to devise ways of training students in line with these answers.

In writing this book, then, I have attempted to develop a picture of what might be appropriate roles for psychologists in the schools through the coming years. I have tried to make a meaningful articulation between two broad fields of endeavor that must be considered in any look at how psychologists are to function optimally in the schools: one, current and future developments in psychology, and two, the emerging needs of the schools and the society of which they are a part. Since some of the suggested ways of functioning are new, and since many represent new combinations of familiar activities, I have made an effort to tie these roles down to practical instances and considerations in the day-by-day life of the psychologist working in the schools. Throughout the book there are illustrative case examples and descriptions; these are attempts to show such roles in action.

But new roles, or combinations of roles, must be developed in terms of the limits and potentials of the situations in which they are to be enacted. A considerable portion of the book is addressed to creating a broader understanding of the settings in which school psychologists will work and of the people with whom they will work, both in school and community.

Finally I have attempted to give attention to some of the broad questions important to the field of school psychology: how psychologists are to be trained to work productively in the schools, how psychological services are to be organized, how the psychologist working in the schools can further his own professional development, and the particular ethical position of the school psychologist.

This book has been written primarily for graduate students in school psychology training programs and for psychologists already working in the schools. It is hoped, however, that there will also be over-the-shoulder readers—teachers, school executives, psychologists concerned with the training in school psychology and related fields, and persons in the other helping professions. All of these have a stake in how psychology may be used most profitably in meeting the educational, personal, and social needs of children in the schools.

Many persons have contributed either directly or indirectly to the writing of this book. I should like to express particular appreciation to my colleagues at Peabody, among whom, and with whom, the ideas of this book have been developed. Especial thanks are due to Nicholas Hobbs who encouraged me to write the book.

I have profited greatly from the thoughtful criticisms of Dale Harris and Lorene Quay, who read the entire manuscript. Individual chapters have benefited from the reading of Victor Raimy, William Rhodes, Julius Seeman, and Sue Spencer. And thanks are owed to Mildred Harrington, Robert Rumery, and Frances Thomson, who carried much of the load of the final preparation of the manuscript.

S. W. G.

Nashville, Tennessee

1963

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1

P R O J E C T : The New Psychologist in the Schools

In the expanding science and profession of psychology, school psychology is at best an adolescent in development. Like an adolescent, it grows, changes almost beyond recognition, faces new demands, fresh opportunities. And in youthful fashion it may try out many roles in the search for an identity with meaning for it.

The unprecedented demand for the services of school psychologists, the many contemporary pressures upon the schools, and the extension of psychological knowledge all suggest that the present is a crucial time for the profession. A careful reassessment of the place of the psychologist working in the schools is imperative if the profession is to push forward rather than slip backward. Such a rethinking must project into the future roles that take into fullest account the use of the particular knowledge and skills psychology has to offer, now or in coming years. Such re-examination should relate these roles to the needs and concerns of schools as they change with the times. This book is addressed to an exploration in some detail of what these roles might be.

The present chapter will examine certain current developments in school and nation that have implication for ways in which psychologists can work in the schools. It will then suggest in broad outline some general modes of functioning that might fit these developments as one views them in the light of what is happening in psychology today. And finally the chapter will come back to the analogy of the adolescent discipline, and give three sketches of psychologists working, to some extent, in the various manners suggested. These three pictures will represent a first look at roles with some measure of promise for the optimal use of psychology in the schools of today and tomorrow.

THE EDUCATIONAL ENTERPRISE

The Schools as Big Business

As we look at the expanding concerns of the schools, the most apparent, perhaps, is the bigness of schools and of the whole educational enterprise. Such bigness means that school operation today has much in common with industry. To be effective, school executives must function somewhat as business executives. We think of an industrial executive who administers an annual budget of over a million as involved in a major business. Yet the superintendent of even a smallish school system must handle a budget of this size. Where his school system runs to 75,000–100,000 children, his budget may run into ten million dollars. Even if we exclude the children, the personnel to be handled is formidable in number. School people consider a desirable ratio of school personnel to children to be one for every twenty pupils (Educational Policies Commission, 1959, p. 76). The superintendent, then, with the ten million dollar budget may have a total staff of three to four thousand. Even the superintendent who divides this operation by ten still has resting upon him major responsibilities and decisions.

Industrial executives have hit upon two major techniques to guide their companies' productivity. One is the use of a research and development branch which concerns itself with on-going evaluation, with planning in terms of the projected needs and desires of its customers or clients. School executives increasingly

discover that major decisions upon the budget, upon building plans, operational changes, and personnel cannot be made appropriately without considerable information. This information must be fed in to them by persons delegated to assess future needs and appropriate ways of meeting these needs. Yet forward-looking industries will regularly spend as much as 5 percent of their annual budget on research and development. The schools, however, spend considerably less than 1 percent. As research becomes a more important part of the school operation, the psychologist, trained as he is in research upon human behavior, has an important contribution to make.

The second technique, not unrelated to research and development, is the use of specialists. Such individuals, with highly developed competencies in special fields, bring the particular points of view of their disciplines to bear upon the problems of industry, or of the school. They add new dimensions to the decisions the executive is called upon to make. As schools have grown larger, specialization has become inevitable, but the school executive as decision-maker must remain essentially a generalist. For this reason he seeks the particular knowledge and interpretation he can gain from specialists in fields relevant to the decisions he must make.

The Manpower Problem

Another major concern of the schools, and one associated with the bigness of schools, is the manpower problem. The population explosion is nowhere a more central problem than in the schools. With about forty million children in public schools today, and around five or six million in private and parochial schools (Stat. Abs. U.S., 1961, p. 107), the problem of staffing is acute. In some areas—among which psychology must be included—adequate staffing is almost impossible with present methods of functioning.

If we hold the forty million children up against recommended ratios of school psychologists to children, we are faced with a situation so extreme as to be absurd. An often recommended ratio is 1 to 1000 (Cutts, 1955, p. 80). When we consider the amount of time that must be devoted to thorough-going appraisal and remediation with children, this ratio is not unreasonable. On the

other hand, to provide this many psychologists for the forty million children would take slightly more than double the entire roster of members of the American Psychological Association in 1962 (American Psychological Association, 1962). Even of this society, only about 5 percent are members of its Division of School Psychologists. Obviously, we need greatly increased numbers of school psychologists. By no flight of the imagination, however, can we conjure up an adequate number in the foreseeable future. While we work towards increasing the numbers of school psychologists, we must also work toward something more basic and probably the only way ever to solve the problem. This is the development of new ways of functioning. New approaches must enable the psychologist to extend his effectiveness far beyond that of the traditional roles of individual assessment and remediation.

As Albee has so well documented in *Mental Health Manpower Trends* (1959), the problem of staffing is acute in all the mental health specialities, not only in psychology. For this reason we cannot hope to take up the slack simply by employing individuals from related fields, such as school social work. Such professional areas have major contributions to make to the schools. But these areas are also in very short supply. The situation is dramatic enough at present. The population projections of the future, in America and in the world, suggest that the situation will become far more critical in the next few decades. The world population has doubled since 1900 and may be expected to more than double again by the year 2000. We shall be dealing not with the world population today of two and three-quarters billion but with one of six or seven billion by the beginning of the next millenium. Whatever we say about the manpower shortages of the 1960s, we can say it many times over as we look to the future.

The manpower problem is further complicated by the fact that supplying a need in this area—at least within limits of present methods of functioning—appears to increase rather than to satisfy demand. This was shown clearly in a study of the school psychological services of Nassau County in New York (Salten *et al.*, 1956). This county probably has more school psychologists in proportion to pupil load than any other section of the country. And

yet even in this area the school systems with the most services were the ones that felt the greatest need for increasing such services. This is the familiar bind in which clinical psychology and psychiatry find themselves.

The solution, to the extent that one exists, probably lies in developing somewhat new methods of functioning. These methods must reach broader numbers of people and also disseminate more widely the psychological knowledge and skills demanded in the school setting. One of the major purposes of this book is to inquire more deeply into how best to attack the manpower problem in school psychological services. This will be viewed in the twin perspectives of what psychology can now and in the future offer to the schools, and of what needs and opportunities within the schools call for the use of psychology to foster the optimal development of children.

In still another way the manpower problem may be expected to affect the possible functioning of psychologists in the schools. Teachers are and will remain in relatively short supply. School executives are faced with greatly increased numbers of children, and with a number of teachers that cannot maintain recommended ratios between the two. They must therefore try out new patterns of organization, new methods of instruction. In research directed toward evaluating such changes, the research training of the psychologist may make a major contribution to school needs.

Technological and Scientific Advance

The present and future state of technological and scientific advance in the world at large has many implications for the schools. Two stand out.

First is the pressure placed upon the schools to strive toward the production of academic excellence and of scientific and technological competence. This is seen by many as dating from that hour in which the Russians launched their first satellite and ushered in the Space Age. Actually the concern goes back much further. For years industry and the War Manpower Commission have been deeply concerned with the fear that America was scraping the bottom of its barrel of scientific and technological

talent. In recent years, however, this has become every citizen's—and every schoolman's—concern. The interplay of this pressure with that created by the galloping growth of school populations makes heavy demands upon all thoughtful persons with any stake in the schools.

The second implication of technological and scientific advance relates to the new concept of teaching and learning appropriate to a society in which advance is rapid. Today we would find it necessary to include most societies, except the most isolated, in this category. David Riesman, during the early 1950s, added a new phrase to our vocabulary: the "other-directed man." With cogent detail Riesman pointed out the results of rapid technological advance upon the source of values and standards of the individual. The other-directed man, as Riesman saw him, is one who derives his values and standards from his peers or from the peer surrogates of technologically advanced societies, the mass media. This he is led to do because the values and standards that in simpler cultures were imparted by tradition or, in cultures of moderate technological advance, by the parents, no longer hold. Riesman's great fear, expressed in *The Lonely Crowd* (1950), was that modern man, in becoming increasingly other-directed, has lost his feelings of self-worth. He was seen as suffering from personal isolation, only partly assuaged by the attempts of the mass media to create a feeling of specious intimacy.

The areas in which technological advance has been most spectacular in the years since Riesman wrote are automation and computer processes. Each new invention, enabling a machine to take over what was once a man's work, means that thousands become unemployed—and sometimes even unemployable. Some may feel that the picture painted by Michael in *Cybernation: The Silent Conquest* (1962) is extreme. Others will feel that the essential picture is correct, if perhaps touched up a bit for public consumption. Two roads seem open to us. One is a great stepping up of consumption of goods, an apotheosis of the game of bumble puppy in *Brave New World*. (The reader of Huxley's frightening Anti-Utopia may remember that bumble puppy, the simple game English children play with ball and stick, had become a nightmare of expensive equipment and elaborate playing courts.) The

other road is for each of us to work far less; the twenty-hour week may become the reality. In either case man must learn much that is new to him: new jobs to meet the expanding consumer demands, or, hopefully, new ways of using the time freed by the machine for the realization of human potentialities.

While Riesman pointed out the hazards of living in an other-directed culture, he did not concern himself particularly with the implications of the state of technological advance for the education of members of a culture. Margaret Mead (1959) has supplied one compelling suggestion for at least a path upon which to seek an answer on how to plan education in a present and future of rapid technological advance. She suggests that in times past education has been organized always in terms of a vertical transmission of knowledge—from the elders to the young, from the adult teacher to the pupil. For the present and the future a more appropriate organization of education, beyond certain basic skills, would be by lateral transmission—"the sharing of knowledge by the informed with the uninformed, whatever their ages." Today we cannot predict, by the best flights of our imagination, what a person needs to know to function effectively ten years hence. Education must develop ways of transmitting knowledge and skills as and when needed during the individual's progress through life.

This concept of lateral transmission has implications for a whole array of fields in teaching. And specifically for our concerns in this book, it may suggest an answer as to how psychological knowledge might be put to use most effectively within the schools. To this also we shall return later.

The Improvement of Mental Health

Another major trend in America today—and one not unrelated to scientific and technological development—is man's concern with his own well-being and health. This interest appears to stem from two sources.

One is the increase in occurrence, or identification, of mental disorder. Statistics are widely publicized on the incidence of mental disease. Everyone can cite figures on the probability that a child born today will spend some time in a mental hospital.

Mental health associations spring up in towns large and small like early radishes in spring. The mass media also have contributed their bit to familiarizing the public with certain aspects of mental disorder.

The heightened complexity of modern life and the Damoclean sword of nuclear power that hangs over us have made man question his powers to cope with his world and universe.

But it is not only mental disease that has become a concern of man today; positive mental health also has become a focus of interest. For with the new tensions of the time has come another trend that has served to allay many of our old fears. This is the progress of medicine in controlling disease. Today the major communicable diseases, and even such residual disorders as arthritis, vascular diseases, and cancer, show promise of yielding to major research efforts. Take the example of the highly successful immunization for poliomyelitis. A few short years ago parents used to spend each summer keeping their children isolated to prevent polio, and counting the days to cold weather. Their children's mental health did not somehow seem so important when they were concerned with their very physical survival. This point was well made by Fillmore Sanford (1955) some years ago in an address before the American Association of Public Health entitled: "*Habeas Mentem*, or the Principle of Creative Health." Sanford suggests that as man is freed from the spectre of physical disease he can turn his attention to more positive functioning, to a concern with his own well-being and that of his children as persons.

But where do the schools come in? An increase in mental disease, coupled with the shortages in the human welfare professions, suggests that we must work toward prevention. For a period of twelve or more years the child spends a major portion of his time within the school's confines. It is thus only natural that the schools are seen as a setting with great opportunity for preventing mental disorder. Furthermore, the whole concern of schools is with the development of potential, for such is the meaning of education. The schools become an ideal setting not only for preventive work but also for the promoting of positive mental health.

Other major trends could be mentioned. These four—the problem of bigness, the manpower problem, scientific and technological advance, and the concern with mental health—have been selected as having particular implications for developing an optimal role for the psychologist in the schools. The next section of this chapter will examine in broad outline how these trends relate to the possible functioning of school psychologists in the coming years. Subsequent chapters will develop these points in more detail.

THE HOW AND WHAT OF THE PSYCHOLOGIST'S ROLE IN THE SCHOOLS

An inevitable result of the four trends just discussed is that schools must change, and change a great deal—in organization, in methods of training personnel, in methods of working with children individually and in groups. These changes must be made if schools are to cope successfully with the issues of the present and the future. School people, acutely aware of these demands in recent years, have been making valiant efforts in this direction.

Such changes suggest two general ways of functioning for the psychologist; they also bring to mind two extensive areas of knowledge within psychology of particular application in the schools.

Two Major Roles for the School Psychologist

Two ways of functioning will be described. Neither is wholly new or revolutionary; each of them has been performed to some extent by many psychologists in the recent years. What is new perhaps, is the particular emphasis, the two broad rubrics under which many partial roles are subsumed.

THE DATA-ORIENTED PROBLEM SOLVER. The pressure of number of children and of teachers in short supply, coupled with a demand for more effective teaching, means that the school executive must try out new approaches. As he moves toward these necessary changes, the school executive desperately needs estimates concerning the advisability of the action he proposes.

The school administrator deals with growing human beings and their human parents. Sometimes in his decisions he must feel as the physician in the Hippocratic Collection—life is short and the art long, the crisis immediate, experiment perilous, decision difficult. Perilous as the experiment may be, however, it is only after research aimed at the evaluation of proposed changes that the school executive can place confidence in his decisions. Such research can tell him whether such actions are worth the time and effort involved, and, indeed, whether they show promise of any positive gain. Schools greatly need persons with the high level of training that makes such research both possible and adequate.

Psychologists, to be sure, are not the only school people with competencies in research. However, psychology has come to regard research competence, a data-oriented approach to problems and a sense of what is researchable within them, as the very hallmark of the profession. In addition, the psychologist's training in research has usually been concerned with human behavior and experience. It can therefore be adapted to problems of school learning and mental health more readily than research training in less relevant areas. Thus, the psychologist in the schools will often be the person most capable of conducting research to answer precisely and economically questions on proposed changes. A subsequent chapter of the book will be devoted to a more exhaustive look at possible roles for the psychologist in research within the schools.

THE TRANSMITTER OF PSYCHOLOGICAL KNOWLEDGE AND SKILL. If bigness, scarcity of manpower, technological advance, and concern with mental health suggest that the psychologist can function as a data-oriented, empirical problem solver, they also suggest another role. He may be able to spread his effectiveness further, to extend his services to meet ever-increasing needs. That is, he may make his attack by developing ways of transmitting his knowledge and skills to others—Margaret Mead's lateral transmission again—and by seeking or creating resources to aid in the uneven struggle between supply and demand. This approach requires the psychologist to move beyond the role, so consistently carried out in the past, of individual assessment and remediation.

He must now play largely a consultant's part with teachers and other school personnel. He must attempt to transmit his special points of view concerning school learning and child development to those most directly concerned with the learning behavior of children. The four national trends also suggest that he must look for sources of help in furthering learning and mental health within the community. Some sources will be formal ones, such as welfare agencies; others will be the many informal situations with potential for increasing the learning ability and well-being of specific children or of groups.

Areas for Contribution by the School Psychologist

We must ask ourselves not only how the psychologist must work, but what he must work upon—what kinds of problems he should attempt to solve, what knowledge and skills he should transmit to others. Here we move into a consideration of what information psychology now has, or may have in the future, that relates to the significant needs of the schools. Two areas are conspicuous.

SCHOOL LEARNING. The first of these is the area of school learning, broadly taken. This is so obvious as to be trite. The business of the schools is learning. At one time psychology was in the very center of the area of school learning; the schools drew liberally from the works of psychologists, particularly those of E. L. Thorndike. In time, however, a rift appeared between education and psychology. The chasm has seemed to widen over the years. True, psychologists are properly cautious about premature and wildly extrapolated application of laboratory findings to the classroom. But psychologists may also be reluctant to move into the difficult area of testing hypotheses in the complex situations and with the complex organisms of the schools. Such reluctance may at one time have been commendable. The time is ripe, however, for psychologists to validate hypotheses in that most fascinating and bewildering organism, the growing child in his home and school habitat.

And in addition, there is much accumulated knowledge about learning not yet put into use in the schools. Perhaps one of the

most useful of roles for the psychologist would be to transmit this knowledge to teachers in such fashion that they could use it effectively in their classroom.

MENTAL HEALTH. The other area that seems natural for the schools is the large, if rather ill-defined, field of mental health. Over the years increasing evidence has accumulated to show that the whole childhood of man is crucial for establishment of patterns of adjustment. In his total school career every child spends thousands of hours in classrooms. The school then is one of the best places to work toward improving the mental health and personal well-being of all persons. Furthermore, the school is one of the few institutions in our society basically concerned with positive functioning. It then becomes a natural setting for the study of the factors related to the development of mental illness and health over the growth span. It is also a place where great opportunity is afforded for the transmission of knowledge and skills concerning mental health. Teachers stand in the most strategic of positions to influence the well-being of future generations. The techniques and information they acquire will be retransmitted many-fold to others.

SOME NOT-IMPOSSIBLE PSYCHOLOGISTS IN THE SCHOOLS

To point up the implications of the trends discussed, we might pursue our analogy of the adolescent's search for identity. It may be instructive to examine some roles for the new psychologist in the schools. These roles will be attempts to project into the future new methods of functioning for the school psychologist that may be more broadly effective than traditional procedures.

Three psychologists will be described. Each of them works in a way that will demonstrate some of the emphases of this book, as it examines more closely questions of functioning, training, and professional development of the psychologist in the schools. No one of these roles is entirely imaginary, visionary, or unique. All activities are being performed by psychologists working in the schools today. What may be new is the particular combination of activities and the weightings given to different functions.

A Psychologist in a Small School System

The first psychologist we shall call Helen Marks. Mrs. Marks is a well-trained psychologist with about ten years experience, five of these years in the system where she is now employed. She is the sole school psychologist in this system, a small suburban one that enrolls approximately 3500 children. She was the first psychologist employed here; this has given her some latitude in structuring her own role. Her background has much in common with psychologists trained in community mental health. It is not surprising, then, that her chief concern is the question of how to make psychology—and indeed herself—more broadly effective in helping the schools work toward the optimal development of the children in their charge.

Because of the demanding goals she sets for herself, and because of the increasing recognition by others of her competence, Helen Marks is exceedingly busy. Her day is a closely packed one. Each morning brings new requests for examinations of children, calls for conferences with teachers, committee meetings, school programs, and special projects that demand her attention. There is a speech to give, a PTA program to work out, parents to counsel, and on and on. Life is sometimes so hectic that she must stop to ask herself what she is really accomplishing.

Mrs. Marks has had moments of despair. She wonders if she has really been able to break out of the mold into which the school and community may wish unthinkingly to cast the school psychologist. As she looks back over her five years, however, she sees real progress. She takes pride in at least three things she has been able to do.

She is pleased with her part in the group testing program. At one time she felt that the less she involved herself in this the better; obviously the administering and scoring of group tests can be done by far less highly trained personnel. As she watched what was going on, however, she realized that she had some very real competencies which would be helpful. She saw that the program reached every single child and every teacher in the school. The competencies which she has put into use are these: an ability to work with teacher committees in a group situation to help them

express what they really wish to gain from tests, a knowledge of how to evaluate standardized tests, an ability to translate specific test scores into terms meaningful to teachers, and a skill in summarizing data for the school staff so that meaningful trends appear. Helen Marks is a little surprised. An area she first wished to get rid of has turned out to be one of her most productive ways of reaching the largest number of individuals in the school. She watches the effective way the sixth grade teachers are planning with the junior high school teachers in terms of articulating the programs for each child as he moves from elementary to junior high school. Such situations as this show her that the group testing program has been worth all her efforts.

Another thing she is happy about is her consultation work with teachers and other school people. As her capabilities have been recognized she is being called upon increasingly to contribute her special psychological knowledge and skills to a number of school problems. She is asked about questions of curriculum changes, promotion policies, special programs for gifted children, the use of ungraded classrooms, and so on. Her chief focus of work, however, has been on consultation work with individual teachers. She has learned much about the values, concerns, sensitive spots, and areas of competency of the teachers in her schools. With this knowledge, she has become a major support and backstop to them in working with their classroom problems. Some of these have been matters related to particular children; others have been problems of general classroom climate. Mrs. Marks maintains a lively interest in children and devotes a large segment of her time to working with them. Yet she sometimes regrets that she does not work with them directly as much as she once did. More and more, however, she sees her effective role as one of working with teachers, for teachers in turn influence many children over a long period of time. A fourth grade teacher, for example, tells her that her help in planning for a bright, nervous little boy with family problems has aided not only this youngster, but several other children she has taught in succeeding years. Then there is the seventh grade English teacher who had such trouble with antagonism between the girls and boys when she was a brand new

teacher a few years ago. She tells the psychologist that her clarification of the different needs of and pressures upon boys and girls of that age has been invaluable. With this knowledge she has been able to establish a far better climate for her work in her classroom.

Mrs. Marks also takes pride in her contribution toward creating a more data-oriented research attitude among the members of the school staff. Like all school systems today, hers is beset by many problems. Changes are needed in organization, curriculum, and methods of instruction. Like all good school systems, too, there are many teachers who are always "messing around"—in Judge Learned Hand's fine phrase in his graduation address at Vassar. They try first this and then that to see how it will work. It took Helen Marks two years to get across to the staff the importance of the concept of controlled experimentation. Finally the idea has borne fruit. She believes her success relates to her ability to work patiently with teachers in explaining why controls are necessary and in making clear the effects of failure to maintain adequate controls. Her success probably also grows out of her skills in helping teachers to set up feasible research plans, ones where questions are asked that are capable of fairly precise answers. Her school staff, and indeed Helen Marks herself, may never do definitive research on the most vital issues in psychology and education today. All of them, however, are now approaching the continually occurring problems of the schools in terms of what is researchable within the situation.

We might also look at some of the problems that Helen Marks feels she has never solved adequately. The first of these, and one in which she is far from unique, is that of maintaining a balance between the urgent and the important. If she yielded completely to the urgencies of the school situation she would be spending all her time as a sort of local fireman; she would be called upon to handle one emergency after another in the school system. Much of her time would be devoted to testing for special class placement—which in her system, as in many, is mandatory. Much of the remaining time would be spent on all manner of remedial efforts with children, particularly with the most difficult cases.

She cannot bypass these demands; they are real and important. What she strives to do is to maintain a balance between these things and the less immediate but ultimately more far-reaching activities. In addition she has tried to locate all manner of referral sources in the community and in the nearby city. She has interested civic groups in promoting mental health services for the community. She has also been fortunate enough—or skilled enough—to find and employ an assistant psychological worker. This person, although not trained for high-level diagnostic work, has been able to assume, under her tutelage, a major portion of the less complicated types of testing. Helen Marks picks up at the point where the higher level of training becomes essential.

Mrs. Marks finds she must exert considerable effort to prevent isolation from the main stream of psychology. She often looks with a wistful eye at the psychologists working in large systems where a number are employed, or at those on staffs of university departments. She has been able to establish liaison with the university in the city of which her town is a suburb. She supervises some of the students in the psychology department of the university in practicum experiences; she has participated in an occasional seminar there. This, plus her membership in professional and scientific organizations and what reading in the journals she has time for, has kept her from extreme isolation. The effort has, however, made real demands upon her time and energies.

She hopes to persuade the superintendent and school board to employ another well-trained psychologist. She would like someone with more than the standard amount of research training required for a doctorate; she would also like more training in learning disabilities. A lack of trained school social workers is a limitation she feels keenly. With her encouragement, the administration is considering the possibility of employing one or two school social workers. With these additions to the school staff she may attain the balanced program she has been striving for. There would also be the fringe benefits associated with the increased professional contacts, and, with additional staff, the possibility of working more closely with the university than heretofore.

A Director of Psychological Services

Our second psychologist is John Rodman. Rodman is chief psychologist in a system of 50,000 children. He has ten persons on his staff with varied degrees and areas of training. Three are individuals with doctoral training, two with an emphasis largely in clinical work with children, the third with training more specifically in school psychology and with some special competencies in measurement. The other seven have had from two to three years of graduate work. He is also fortunate enough to have adequate and competent secretarial help, and appropriate office machines to maintain the efficient operation of his service.

John Rodman, like Mrs. Marks, faces the major problem of maintaining balance between the urgent and the important. And in relation to this problem he must consider how best to deploy his forces. Eleven psychologists for 50,000 children are too few to provide adequate service without a careful allocation of personnel and a meaningful establishment of priorities. For these reasons he spends the bulk of his time in three general areas: (1) administering the psychological unit, (2) serving, along with his best trained staff members, as trainer-supervisor of the less trained, and (3) working in the area of program development, both of the psychological services in his system and of the broader aspects of the school and related community endeavors.

We might take a look at John Rodman's activities in the three areas mentioned.

First, administration of the psychological services of his school. His co-workers sometimes fear that he may leave to become a superintendent of schools. This is not impossible, for he has learned, and learned well, numerous aspects of administration that are crucial for many situations. He has developed effective techniques of recruiting personnel for his growing service, for setting up efficient office routines. He has learned how to assign jobs according to special competencies and weaknesses; he has learned how to work effectively with all levels of school personnel and of the community in furthering their and his aims.

But John Rodman is primarily a psychologist. Such adminis-

tration he sees as the oiling of the wheels that make possible forward movement in his program. Supervision and training, on the other hand, he sees as functions that enable his staff to grow in the competencies demanded for the optimal development of the children in the schools. He cannot employ enough doctoral level psychologists to meet the suggested ratio of one psychologist to every one or two thousand children. He would need twenty-five at least. Right now he cannot even employ that many workers with a lower level of training. But while he works toward increasing his staff, he also works toward developing those he already has. For example, his two clinically trained people have needed careful induction into an understanding of the school as a social organism. They have needed to see teachers as existing in a particular matrix of values and pressures that both extend and limit their potentials in work with children. When they came, his staff members with two years of graduate work were relatively competent in appraisal, except for the more complex cases. They had a fair background in developmental psychology. What they lacked, however, was training that would facilitate working with teachers in a consultative role. Through demonstration case conferences, having these psychologists sit in on some of his own conferences, and observing and listening to recordings of their own conferences with teachers, he has improved their competency to a major extent. Two of them he is convinced will probably never be skillful as consultants. Fortunately one of these is quite good with young children and can assume major responsibility with the preschool screening program. When they were first employed some of the same staff members needed considerable help in writing the kinds of reports that were useful to teachers. John Rodman sometimes feels that he is functioning in much the same way as a supervisor of interns in a university training program for school psychologists. He hopes in the future that he will not have to devote so much time to training and supervising his own staff. As they become more effective he would like to start a true internship program for one or two persons a year. He likes to think of his own unit as contributing more broadly to the development of school psychology as a profession. Establishing an internship arrangement is one way his school can play a part in making school

psychology continually more effective and productive in the future.

A considerable amount of his time—both during and after hours—goes into program development, broadly considered. When he came on the school staff eight years ago his city did not have a mental health center. It now does, and to John Rodman is due part of the credit. Directly because of his efforts, his school system has an excellent in-service training program in child development and mental health for teachers, one that is tied in closely with the day-by-day concerns of the teachers in their classroom. His school system now has a major research grant for the study of curriculum adaptations to meet the needs of culturally deprived children in the community, a particular problem in his city. Rodman spearheaded the search for funds for this activity and with consultation from the local university set up a research design appropriate and feasible for his community. The teachers in the system now do a far more effective job in parent-teacher conferences in the schools than before he came. Indeed, they have received national recognition for the excellence of this program. Rodman works with teachers, as with his own staff, to help them develop and use interpersonal skills with parents to the benefit of the children who are their mutual concern. He has also made use of members of the community in general school mental health work. He has a Grandparents Club of active and alert older persons who are willing to spend an afternoon a week with some youngster or other. Some of these children, while not severely disturbed, need a measure of emotional support and a feeling of belonging—or sometimes just broadening of horizons—that the older person can provide.

John Rodman has had his failures in making some of his ideas viable. Still, when he looks at the number of changes in the schools in which he has had some hand, he finds his batting average to be respectable.

A Staff Member of a Fair Sized Psychological Services Unit

Our third and last school psychologist is one of the members of John Rodman's staff, James Thompson. He came to the staff with a training background in school psychology and with special

competencies in measurement and, to a lesser extent, in learning. He has problems that neither of our other psychologists faced. He has had to fit into an already established situation, one where some of the roles that he might prefer to play were already being handled effectively. When he first came, Thompson was given the following assignments: He was to handle referrals of children from four schools in the system and at the same time take care of such consultation as seemed appropriate for the teachers and staff of these schools. One of the clinically trained psychologists on the staff, who had come two years before him, was available for help and consultation as he needed it. And at first he needed a lot. Because of his interest in learning he was also appointed to the curriculum committee. This committee had become engrossed with methods of self-instruction for classroom use. Fortunately, because he had some background in the programming of learning activities, he has been of immediate and practical help to the teachers in setting up learning programs in certain areas of instruction. So far he has been most successful in arithmetic. With John Rodman's encouragement Thompson has conducted research in one school on the effectiveness of the learning programs he has planned with the teachers. He has also spent considerable time meeting with small groups of teachers over a period of time to help them to devise ways of applying certain generally accepted principles of efficient learning in their teaching. Under his guidance one group worked out an interesting array of techniques by which they could provide as immediate reinforcement as possible in learning situations with children.

Next year James Thompson also has taken upon himself another assignment of major proportions. He will serve as supervisor of the group testing program and consultant to the teachers on test interpretation and construction of classroom tests. Like Helen Marks he has found that the group testing program—if handled imaginatively and with close relevance to the kinds of data actually needed by teachers—is an excellent way of making a real impact in the school. With test construction his progress with teachers has been slower. He has, however, helped them to define their objectives more clearly and thus in testing to be more

concerned with questions of validity. They have also developed a fair degree of sophistication in understanding test reliability.

Just as his staff worry about John Rodman's ending up as a school administrator, they fear that James Thompson will be drawn into a university job. He may. If he continues to develop as well as he has started, he should have real strengths to offer. He should be effective in training future teachers, and in training other school psychologists, along the lines of his particular competencies in learning and in measurement. His own aspirations, however, are a little different. They would lead him away from the traditional role of the school psychologist, or even the one he is now playing. He would like to make a dent on some of the larger problems of the schools. He wants more scope in planning and directing research that would provide information for some of the vast problems all schools face today. Thompson is impressed by how little is really known about the effectiveness of various methods of class organization and grouping, about the correlates of effective teaching, or other problems that must be faced as school populations multiply and the need to develop human talent increases. He is wise enough to know that, alone, he will never move the mountain. Yet he would like to be in there pushing as hard as he can. This makes him look toward jobs that offer a broad research opportunity. It might mean working with a large educational foundation, with a major research installation, or it might mean working in a university. So his colleagues may be right. Perhaps, however, with an increasing concern for research in school systems, James Thompson will continue to find his present situation a highly challenging one.

These three sketches of school psychologists represent pictures of some possible ways of working within the areas and in the ways suggested earlier in this chapter. Subsequent chapters will attempt to develop in more detail areas of potential contribution to the schools. These chapters will also suggest ways of functioning through which these contributions may be made. The functioning of the school psychologist in relation to other school personnel, to the community, and to the other helping professions

will be examined. Some attention will be given to the academic training and professional development needed to utilize psychology in some of the ways described in the sketches of our three psychologists.

Thus, as we examine the work of the school psychologist in its many ramifications, we may help our adolescent discipline of school psychology find for itself roles that have meaning for the needs of the schools and congruence with the best that psychology has to offer.

Before launching into these chapters, however, it would probably add perspective to take a backward look. We should view the forces that have led to the kinds of psychological practice observed so commonly in today's schools. Certainly the adolescent needs to examine carefully the mold into which current practice will cast him, should he accept the present state of affairs uncritically. The next chapter will serve as such a backward glance, and give a view of the current status of school psychology in relation to its past.

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2

RETROSPECT: The Background of Current Practice in School Psychology

School psychologists today are a varied group. Their operations range from a practice of racking up a required number of mental tests weekly, as specified by some supervisor, to a creative and flexible application of psychology within the schools. This variability has been increased in recent years by two trends that have served to pull the extremes apart. One is the burgeoning growth of special education facilities, bringing in their wake greatly increased demands for testing. The other is an increasing recognition of the potentials of psychology in relation to the many-faceted needs of the educational enterprise, and the concern of the profession of psychology with the training of psychologists for the schools. This latter point was witnessed by the calling of the Thayer Conference (Cutts, 1955) for a detailed inquiry into the qualifications and training of school psychologists.

The preceding chapter concerned itself with a look into the future. In a sense it took off from the Thayer Conference and its concern with upgrading the profession. The present chapter will

take a look at some of the pressures that have contributed to the casting of psychologists into two molds at present. These are molds into which not all school psychologists are cast, but they are ones that represent two typical and widespread methods of functioning. Reversing our procedure, this time we shall start with pictures of two psychologists who are productive and useful workers in the schools. Both, however, are caught in the trap created by trying to cope with current and future needs of the schools in one of two ways. The first is one of yielding to the immediate demands of school people. The other is the applying of ready-made methods of functioning which, although highly skilled, do not strike at the heart of the problem of how psychology is to make a major contribution in meeting the needs of schools.

A PSYCHOMETRICIAN IN THE SCHOOLS

The first of these two psychologists is Harold Lindsey. He is the only psychologist serving a school district of 20,000 children. Lindsey was in a doctoral training program in a university but stopped after two years because of the financial strain. With a wife and two children to support, he found it hard to refuse the job offered by the school system in which he now works. He hopes to continue his doctoral training in the future. Of one thing he is sure; he would like to leave his present job. He stays with it because it is relatively well paid, and because of inertia or perhaps fatigue. He handles an enormous load of work, as he must do, if single-handedly he is to make any attack on the psychological needs of a school system of this size. The bulk of his time is spent in testing referrals for special class placement. Such testing is mandatory in his state, as it is in many. Re-tests after three years are also required. Harold Lindsey is the second psychologist employed by this district. The first one, who left a year ago, was employed by the district when they needed someone to evaluate children for special classes as the special education program of the district began to develop. This person apparently worked hard and conscientiously. But when Lindsey came he found an

enormous backlog of referrals and the whole problem of re-evaluation of youngsters in special education programs almost untouched. He does the best he can to clean up the backlog. He finds it a little like the mountain of glass in the Arabian Nights, however, where for every step forward, the climber slipped backward two. Referrals continue to pile up; he gets further behind no matter how hard he works. Nobody in the state, however, turns out more test results, competently done, than Lindsey. And this is a source of comfort to him. He can at least point it out to his school administrator and use it as proof of his own efficiency and of the need to employ additional personnel. He thinks with luck that he might persuade the superintendent to employ one more psychologist with about his own level of training. This Lindsey sees as being an enormous help to him in attacking the backlog of testing.

From experience with the person who preceded him, and now with him, the teachers and staff have pretty much accepted the psychologist as someone they can call upon for testing youngsters. And thus his referral list grows. Harold Lindsey would like to function more broadly as a school psychologist, however. Although his training was stopped in midcourse, he still has knowledge and competencies he could contribute to the schools under other circumstances. For instance, he has fairly good training in child development; he would like to put this knowledge to use in working with the teachers in the schools. He does this a little when he talks with teachers who have referred youngsters. But at best it is piecemeal and sporadic; he is seldom able to follow through as he would like on a given case or with a given teacher. His life is pretty much one of trying to spread himself as thin as possible. Frequently he is called in when a given teacher reaches her wit's end because of some classroom situation. Yet he feels that in such situations he has been able to be of little help. All he has been able to do is relieve the teacher of some of her feelings of anxiety and inadequacy about her own ability to cope with the situation. Unfortunately, such putting out of local fires, or "crisis consultation," demand a higher level of training to be maximally effective than Harold Lindsey has, as he himself is keenly aware.

Lindsey feels, and probably rightly so, that the chances are very slim of his being able to create the kind of program of psychological services needed in his own school system. The school staff and school board are a long way in their thinking from allotting the money necessary for such a service and from providing the kind of support needed to make such a program viable. If Lindsey himself carried a little more weight in the schools or the community, he might be able to sway opinion in this direction. One very real problem for him, of course, would be his position in such an improved service. Unless he goes back to school and gets more training he is probably not in a position to head it up, and he dislikes the idea of being a junior member. Difficult as it may have been, he has enjoyed being looked upon as *the* psychologist.

Harold Lindsey is performing an important and much needed service, and he knows this. He feels, though, that the community is really being sold short in thinking that they are providing adequate psychological services for their schools. It is too much to hope that he can rectify this situation alone. Probably his best solution—if he and his family can live on reduced rations for a few years—is to go back to graduate school, and then on to a school system where there is some hope of building up adequate psychological services.

A CLINICIAN IN THE SCHOOLS

Our second psychologist is Janet Karcher, a graduate of one of the best clinical programs in the country. She has been employed for four years as one of a staff of six psychologists in a wealthy suburban community that has about 7,000 children in the schools. Her assignment has been largely that of serving as the psychologist to handle referrals from two schools in the system. In this system psychological services have been well established for a number of years. The teachers have grown to see their psychologists as persons highly trained, capable of doing skilled diagnostic work even with difficult cases, and also of working with some of these cases in psychotherapeutic relationships. There is an excellent mental health clinic in the community to take care of some

cases needing the most intensive work. She, however, has handled a certain number of those that gave promise of being short-term, and where there was some learning disability involved. She also handles the diagnostic work from these schools, plus some pre-school evaluations where her help is needed.

As Janet Karcher looks at her four years on the job she can be justly proud of much that she has accomplished. The schools to which she is specially assigned have adequate clinical services; her teachers respect her and find her conferences with them valuable. She can see that the youngsters with whom she has worked are making more adequate school progress than heretofore. These are real contributions. And she also feels satisfaction in her status in the broad field of psychology. As she looks at many school psychologists, particularly ones like Harold Lindsey, she sees that they have little sense of pride in their profession of school psychology when they come in contact with psychologists more highly trained in other fields. They feel looked down upon, and thus defensive. But she knows that she has as good a clinical training as the best of the clinicians; there is no reason why she should feel humble in their presence. The fact that she is engaged in psychotherapy, and with some degree of success, she sees as a special cachet of distinction, an indication that she has reached the higher levels of functioning as a psychologist.

Janet Karcher does have her moments of self-doubt, however, and these, interestingly enough, have come from outside her own community. As she goes to professional meetings and meets clinical psychologists with a public health orientation, she is continually faced with the magnitude of the national mental health problem. She has asked herself whether she has been living an ostrich existence in her community, her head buried in the sands of complacency. Perhaps her satisfaction in a high-level job well done is not justified when she lifts her eyes to the national scene. The kind of services that she is rendering may be a highly attractive but expensive luxury for a few wealthy school systems.

Both Harold Lindsey and Janet Karcher are hard and conscientious workers. The first, basically as a psychometrician, and the second, a clinical psychologist working in a school setting,

represent two kinds of people who have done much to win a place for psychology in the schools. Each of them is performing a good job in his or her special role. Each of them has probably taken the particular role because of circumstances in the schools or in psychology that have made these roles natural and easy to assume.

ORIGINS OF THE PSYCHOMETRICIAN'S ROLE

The Background of Special Education

Harold Lindsey's role is tied up with the history of special education, particularly of the mentally handicapped. And the history is a long one. Special classes for the mentally retarded, according to Frampton and Rowell (1938), were begun as early as 1859 in Europe. In the United States the first special classes for retardates developed out of classes for incorrigible boys. Providence started a school for this purpose in 1896, and Chicago, Boston, New York, Los Angeles, and others followed within the next five years with special classes for the retarded. According to the U.S. Office of Education there were classes for the mentally retarded in 220 cities by 1911. Legislation to promote special education followed hard upon the establishment of such classes. New Jersey led in this, and by the time that Frampton and Rowell wrote there were 15 states with such special laws. These laws are crucial to the role that Lindsey is playing, for they frequently make mandatory the giving of mental tests to determine eligibility for special class placement. Need for the "Binet Tester" has therefore grown apace. Today there are over 200,000 children in special classes for the mentally handicapped in public schools (Dunn, 1963). It is no wonder that the demand for services such as Lindsey can provide seems almost without limit. When we add to this the fact that the retardate is only one kind of youngster in need of some psychological evaluation for special class placement, we catch a glimpse of the magnitude of the problem.

It is interesting to compare the history of education for the mentally handicapped with the history of intelligence testing. It should come as no surprise to the reader that for many years de-

velopment in these two areas ran parallel. As is well known, Binet and Simon developed their test, the first successful individual intelligence examination, in response to a request from the French government to provide an instrument to identify children who could not be expected to benefit from regular classes in the public schools (Pintner, 1923). Goddard, who made the first American adaptation of the Binet test, was research director at a school for mental defectives, the Vineland Training School (Pintner, 1923). It is true that Terman (1925), whose influence has been greatest upon individual intelligence testing in the United States, was particularly concerned with the gifted. Yet the early start of the Binet test as an instrument for studying mental defectives has caused many persons, including teachers, to think of intelligence tests, and intelligence testers, as being concerned primarily with mental retardation.

Intelligence testing has long since been able to outgrow much of the history that caused it to be viewed as dealing primarily with the lower end of the continuum. And yet this heritage still colors the reactions of the laity and even of school people. Perhaps this is another reason why psychologists in Lindsey's position find this the one clearly defined role for themselves in the eyes of school personnel.

Certification Practices in Relation to the Psychometrician's Role

Practices in the certifying of school psychologists by state boards of education also relate closely to the perceived roles of school psychologists and to the roles they actually play. Certification practices for school psychologists have grown up over a quarter of a century and today reflect the somewhat haphazard growth of such legal provisions and also of the roles that state departments of education expect psychologists to play.

BACKGROUND OF CERTIFICATION. Certification is generally seen as being designed to regulate practice and to assure an adequate level of training for the position being certified. According to Cornell (1941) the certification regulations of New York State were developed largely to prevent inadequately qualified persons from engaging in psychological evaluation. Presumably the

regulations were aimed particularly at limiting the practice of the unauthorized and inadequately prepared Binet tester. Cornell states that there were many schools at the time she wrote which offered undergraduate courses in Binet testing open to almost all comers. The New York certification provisions in their day represented a long step forward from the situations in which anyone who could read a Binet manual felt ready to go out as school psychologist. Since 1935, when New York first certified, other state departments of education have gone on to certify school psychologists, until there then were in 1960 twenty-three states plus the District of Columbia with certification provisions (Hodges, 1960).

CURRENT CERTIFICATION PRACTICES. One illuminating approach to the question of the more usual roles practiced by school psychologists today, and of the expectancies of educators for these psychologists, is to examine in some detail certification requirements in the several states. In a paper written just twenty-five years after this first certification of school psychologists in New York, Hodges (1960) has summarized the status of such certification at the beginning of the year in which he was writing. The twenty-three states and the District of Columbia reported as certifying school psychologists represent a rapid growth since World War II. For example, Horrocks (1946) reported that at the time he wrote only seven states certified school psychologists, with six states in addition certifying some kind of psychological services.

In the states studied by Hodges, eighteen used the title "school psychologist" for psychological personnel either where a single level was involved or, where two levels were involved, for the higher level. Other terms used were: psychological examiner, school psychometrist, psychological services worker, and psychological diagnostician. These terms may reflect certain expectancies for the persons so designated.

About a third of the states certified at two levels. One, Indiana, certified at three, and the remaining fourteen at one level. Four of the states certifying at more than one level required the doctorate or its equivalent for the top level; of the remaining four, three required approximately two years of graduate work for the

higher level. Only two states accepted the B.A. as adequate, and one of these was Indiana, which certified at this point only at its lowest of three levels. The remaining states required an M.A. or an M.A. plus some number of additional hours of graduate training. The general picture, then, was typically one of an M.A. or an M.A. plus some hours of graduate work being required for certification.

Other aspects of training into which Hodges inquired were those of an internship and of a background of teacher training and experience. Only eight states required an internship, if this is construed as full-time for at least nine months. Possession of or eligibility for a teaching certification was required in fourteen states, and one or more years of teaching experience in ten.

Hodges also made an attempt to categorize course or area requirements from the twenty states that specified either courses or areas of training. Little communality emerged in such a classification. The course categories mentioned by as many as eight states were as follows:

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|--|-----------|
| Psychometric techniques (group and individual, measurement, aptitude testing) | 11 states |
| General, experimental, theoretical, physiological | 10 states |
| Exceptional children, speech correction, psychology of the handicapped, organization of programs | 8 states |
| Guidance, principles and practices | 8 states |
| Remedial instruction | 8 states |

Thus, a general picture emerges for the year 1960 of certification for school psychologists as being on a level of training considerably below the doctorate. When we inquire into possible trends in the requirements for certification, and particularly as we look at the course requirements, the only picture that appears consistently is that of an emphasis on the testing-placement role of the school psychologist, and that primarily with the retarded and the handicapped.

Although the picture in 1960 in general may be somewhat dis-

heartening to those who are concerned with upgrading the profession of school psychology, there are encouraging signs pointing toward improvement. In the first place, some states already have certification provisions that appear to envisage a much broader role for the school psychologist. Indiana, for example, for its top level, states as a function of the school psychologist that he should serve "as consultant to recommend or set up procedures for the development of psychologically constructive learning experiences and relationships" (Indiana State Department of Education, 1957). At the time of this writing there are at least ten states known to the writer that are either drafting certification requirements or planning revisions of their present provisions. The Tennessee State Department of Education in 1962, for example, approved a two-level certification law that will certify school psychologists on a doctoral level. Areas of course work are specified that clearly move the expectancies for the psychologist away from a testing-placement role. A year's internship in an educational setting is also required. A psychological service worker is certified on an approximately two-year level, including a semester's internship. In addition, the Division of School Psychologists of the American Psychological Association is actively concerned with developing adequate standards of certification.

Yet at the present one can see in the general picture of certification provisions an indication that states still are concerned with the sort of services expected of Harold Lindsey. These provisions have risen as an attempt to demand at least a minimal level of competence for those engaged in a testing-placement role. There is therefore little wonder that in many places school psychologists have as the heaviest demand upon them the filling of the testing role in which Harold Lindsey spends the bulk of his time.

ORIGINS OF THE CLINICAL ROLE

The history of Janet Karcher's present role is not so easy to trace. At best, such a quest is a matter of speculation. To the writer there do, however, seem to be certain past and current trends that have made Janet's role achieve its prominence in school psychology today.

Witmer's Clinic

Part of the history of Janet Karcher's role lies also in the past of Lindsey's role—a concern with children not performing adequately in school. It may also go back to the beginnings of clinical psychology in this country. For, as today psychologists sometimes forget, the beginnings of clinical psychology are also rooted in questions of school progress. As is generally known, the first psychological clinic in this country was founded by Lightner Witmer in 1896 at the University of Pennsylvania (Brottemarkle, 1931). The first person referred to Witmer was a fourteen-year-old boy brought in by his teacher because the youngster was a "chronic bad speller." During the same year Witmer presented a paper to the American Psychological Association in which he described a plan for service and training in clinical psychology. Witmer reports on this plan as follows:

1. The investigation of the phenomena of mental development in school children, as manifested more particularly in mental and moral retardation, by means of statistical and clinical methods.
2. A psychological clinic, supplemented by a training school in the nature of a hospital school, for the treatment of all classes of children suffering from retardation or physical defects interfering with school progress.
3. The offering of practical work to those engaged in the professions of teaching and medicine, and to those interested in social work, in the observation and training of normal and retarded children.
4. The training of students for a new profession—that of the psychological expert, who should find his career in connection with the school system, through the examination and treatment of mentally and morally retarded children, or in connection with the practice of medicine (Brottemarkle, 1931, pp. 344-346).

On the basis of Witmer's statements one could argue that Janet Karcher is merely following the oldest tradition and orientation in clinical psychology. Certainly prior to World War II clinical psychology tended to be more child-oriented than in the decade immediately following World War II. This is evidenced by the most widely used text in clinical psychology in the late thirties—Louttit's *Clinical Psychology: A Handbook of Children's Be-*

havior Problems (1936)—which was concerned almost in its entirety with children.

Clinical Psychology in the Post World War II Years

Some of the shaping of Janet Karcher's role, however, is probably more recent history. Clinical psychology prior to World War II was suffering from some of the ailments that plague school psychology today. One such ailment was a relatively low level of training for many practitioners; another was a wide diversity in the kind and appropriateness of the training offered. Still another was a generally low status for the clinician among his psychological colleagues. Clinical psychology, through upgrading of requirements, the creating of methods to maintain some control over the kinds of training required, and the provision of practicum and internship facilities, has managed to climb high on the totem pole of professional psychology. The report of the Boulder Conference (Raimy, 1950) probably provides the best picture of this development in the early postwar years.

The Clinician's Role as a Solution of the Status Problem

The current status ailments of school psychology, as far as position among professional psychologists is concerned, are not easy to diagnose with any degree of confidence. It is easy to point the finger of blame at one or the other circumstance, but the origins are probably complex. One reason must lie in the general picture of training revealed in the state certification requirements just discussed. Another reason may lie in the somewhat divided loyalties school psychologists experience. They work in school settings as school people and the same time they try to maintain their identity as psychologists. The reinforcement in the school situation by and large is much more immediate than in the profession. Many school psychologists come to identify themselves less and less with the total science and profession of psychology. A third reason may lie in the somewhat cavalier attitude assumed by many psychologists as they look at schools and school personnel. School personnel resent this; school psychologists, to the extent that they empathize with school people, resent it too. Thus, it is easy for school psychologists to withdraw somewhat from the

mainstream of psychology; and some of them do take this easy, albeit primrose-bordered, path.

One general result of the circumstances mentioned in the preceding paragraph is that psychologists who wish to work in the schools—and at the same time maintain their status in psychology and among professional colleagues—find the clinical role a satisfying compromise. Thus, Janet Karcher feels that because she is competent in giving and interpreting projective tests and in working with youngsters in play therapy she is as respectable a clinician as the next one. And indeed she is.

The questions we would raise about such a role, however, are not whether it is one demanding high-level training or whether it is a valuable role. Certainly what she is doing does demand a high degree of skill; it does offer an extremely useful service to the schools. We must ask, however, if the only way that high level training can be put to use in the schools is through providing direct clinical services to school children.

At the time preparations were being made for the Thayer Conference in 1954 a large and presumably representative group of school psychologists were questioned about the functions they performed, and the activities in which they wished they could spend more time (Cutts, 1955). Although psychotherapy was not listed in the questionnaire, it was written in by a sizable group under "other." There seems to be a hint of psychotherapy's being viewed as the method *par excellence* for raising one's status as a psychologist. This is not an entirely happy commentary on the imagination and creativity shown by school psychologists in adapting psychological knowledge and skills to school situations.

Another issue is the one already posed of whether one can ever hope to take care of the needs of the schools through providing direct clinical services. Simple arithmetic shows that one's answer must be in the negative. The attractive luxury provided by services such as Janet Karcher's will continue to find a valued place in the school systems which can afford them. To the extent, however, that the profession of school psychology feels a social responsibility toward attacking the mental health and other psychological needs of schools, it must look at other avenues of development.

VOICES IN THE WILDERNESS

Harold Lindsey and Janet Karcher, while not entirely made of straw, are perhaps overstated. Few psychologists have been as restricted as Lindsey; few find themselves in a service with as completely a clinical orientation as Janet Karcher's. And yet these two individuals do represent prototypes of what seems to exist in much of the country in regard to actual practice in school psychology.

But it should be remembered that for many years there have been voices raised against establishing narrow restrictive roles and in championship of making broad and flexible application of psychology to the school needs. In 1942 the *Journal of Consulting Psychology* devoted an entire issue to school psychology, and much of that issue points to broader types of functioning than are often true today. For instance, Zehrer (1942) wrote on "The School Psychologist as a Mental Health Specialist," Hildreth (1942) on "The Psychologist Investigates Reading Disability," and McNally (1942) on "Organizing School Curricula to Meet Individual Differences." Symonds (1942), who wrote the lead article, defined the school psychologist as follows: "The school psychologist is a *psychologist in a school*—that is, one who brings to bear on the problems of the school and its administrators, teachers, and pupils the technical skill and insight which the science of psychology can provide." What more could one suggest today, except perhaps a little more specificity? The Thayer Conference, for example, over a decade later, offered the following definition: "The school psychologist is a psychologist with training and experience in education. He uses his specialized knowledge of assessment, learning and interpersonal relationships to assist school personnel to enrich the experience and growth of all children and to recognize and deal with exceptional children" (Cutts, 1955, p. 30). Some may feel that Symonds' definition has more of a current ring.

In the previously quoted article, Symonds states that to the best of his knowledge the term "school psychologist" was first used by Hutt (1923) in an article entitled "The School Psychologist." Just two years later Walter (1925) published an article in an educa-

tional journal entitled "The Functions of a School Psychologist." According to Walter these functions, as summarized by Symonds, are:

1. Direction of group testing within the system
2. Diagnosis and therapeutics of problem cases
 - a. mentally retarded
 - b. the superior child doing inferior work
 - c. the child who has a special ability
 - d. the child whose behavior does not meet the standards of the community
3. Analysis and disposal of problem cases
4. Bringing a unique point of view to bear upon educative problems
5. Conduct of research problems
6. Rendering contributions to the general theory and practice of education (Symonds, 1942).

Much of Walter's analysis sounds highly current and even a projection into the future.

Writers such as Walter or Symonds may have had cause upon occasion to feel themselves to be voices crying in the wilderness. There have fortunately been many school psychologists, however, who have refused to allow themselves to be cast into either of the restrictive roles represented by the cases of Harold Lindsey and Janet Karcher. Some of these nonconformists have been able to sail safely by the Scylla of overwhelming demands and the Charybdis of a ready-made way of maintaining one's self esteem and professional status. Perhaps in their approaches we shall find clues as to how psychologists and students in training can learn to assume a role more appropriate and more effective in the schools of today and tomorrow.

It is the writer's guess that at least two things are necessary for this emergence into the safe waters from the whirlpool and the rocks: first, a clear role commitment in terms of what the individual can offer to the schools and the fashion in which he can offer this; second, a background of training and on-going professional development that provides the individual with the knowledge, skills, and experience needed to function in ways departing from the more conventional roles played by school psychologists.

The general purpose of this book is to provide direction toward the development of such a role commitment and some inquiry into the training and experiences that may make such a role viable in the present and the future.

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3

PSYCHOLOGY'S CONTRIBUTION TO THE SCHOOL

Two broad areas are suggested in the first chapter as of major significance when we look for the possible contributions of psychology to the schools. These two are school learning and mental health. This brief chapter does not propose to examine content in these areas. Each of them represents a field with an enormous literature of its own, and one in which knowledge must be acquired arduously and gradually. Instead, the chapter will attempt to explore the reasons for the particular significance of these two areas to the on-going business of the schools. It will present some aspects of these two fields that have already shown promise for work in the schools.

SCHOOL LEARNING

We shall look first at school learning. If the term is used broadly enough to include all school factors impinging upon the learning of the child, school learning indeed becomes a portmanteau

phrase, to use Humpty Dumpty's fine expression. In fact, mental health and school learning are not mutually exclusive terms; mental health might be subsumed under the latter term. For purposes of exposition, however, this chapter will treat the two separately, with the reservation that there are many points of overlap.

The School's Need for Knowledge about Learning

A BRIDGE ACROSS THE WIDENING RIFT. Schools and school learning in the early days of American psychology were areas of major concerns to psychologists. One thinks of William James's *Talks to Teachers* (1910), Hall's (1883) work on the content of children's minds, and most of all, a few decades later, Thorndike's monumental volumes on educational psychology (1913). But there has been a disenchantment, perhaps, with the simple formulas that once promised to be so productive. Certainly there has been a gradual drifting apart as psychology has become more specialized and more technical in nature. Today psychology and education do not have the mutually productive relationship that could make psychology maximally useful in improving the conditions of learning in the schools. There is no merit in pointing the finger of blame toward either group or toward subgroups within the two professions. What we need, rather, is the mutual working together of psychologists and educators to define those problems of school learning most amenable to attack by psychologists. Particularly needed are better methods of communication. Psychologists—forming their ideas of education from a mélange of their own school days, what the mass media say, and chance remarks of their own children—often have little idea of where the schools are and where they are going. Persons in education are apt to feel defensive and even resentful of the superior stance the psychologist may assume. At the very least, the educator often finds it impossible without help to translate the findings of psychological research into possible suggestions for classroom practice.

The school psychologist is in a particularly advantageous position for the bringing about of a certain *rapprochement* between education and psychology. This is true if he can understand the attitudes of school people and the pressures they feel upon

them, and if he has the skill to translate research findings and techniques into understandable terms. It is in the field of school learning that a *rapprochement* is both needed and possible. In a sense, one might suggest that he assume what some persons perceive as the role of the educational psychologist. The psychologist in the school will certainly have much in common with the educational psychologist. The difference, perhaps, lies in the amount of direct participation in the school situation that is expected of the school psychologist. Educational psychology is in itself a broad and diffuse term. Neither equating school and educational psychology nor attempting to draw clear-cut distinctions seems profitable. Terms do not really matter, if we remember that our concern is with the use of present and future findings on learning and its attendant circumstances, as these have meaning for school planning.

INCREASING QUANTITY AND QUALITY OF LEARNING SIMULTANEOUSLY. Today, the schools of the nation find themselves in a double bind. The pressure is upon them for more economical teaching and also for more effective teaching. Research is sorely needed, but there is already much knowledge that is applicable, could it be translated into usable terms. The demand for more economical teaching arises, of course, out of the great urgency of numbers as the population curve continues to ascend. There has been no commensurate rise in the number of teachers. Nor has there been a comparable rise in the number of other professional groups concerned with human welfare. Physicians, for example, are in short supply; so are nurses. But other professions over the past twenty years have increased their productivity. This has not been true of teaching; in fact, one could almost argue the reverse. For instance, recommended standards for ratio of children to school personnel seem to suggest a decreasing ratio. Recommended ratios of one teacher to not more than twenty-five elementary school children (National Education Association, 1958) simply cannot be maintained, and perhaps do not need to be maintained, in all areas and at all levels of instruction.

Thus the schools are faced with the problem of making school personnel more productive. But the pressures are such—and fortunate this is for the welfare of the children and the nation—that

school executives dare not purchase increased productivity at the expense of quality. Indeed, the demand is upon them to increase that quality.

The School Psychologist as Adapter and Translator

By no means do all the answers to problems of increasing economy and effectiveness simultaneously lie in the psychology of learning. Psychologists specializing in learning are the first to disavow this possibility. In fact, it is the extreme caution of many learning theorists, when called upon to extrapolate to school situations, that has created part of the problem of lack of communication. The psychology of learning, however, like a coin, may be viewed from two sides. The obverse is the picture as the learning theorists and research workers know it. Here one is impressed by how little is actually known about human learning; how specialized and remote from everyday situations are the carefully contrived laboratory experiments designed for theory testing. Looking at the obverse, we indeed feel wise in saying to the teacher: Not yet.

But a look at the reverse of the coin gives a different picture. There is an enormous amount of accumulated knowledge about learning. For example, Kendler, in the 1959 *Annual Review of Psychology*, the most recent year that carried a general review of learning, cites 204 references for the one-year period covered; the previous year (Lawrence, 1958) cited 156. The very fact that the *Annual Review* has ceased to attempt to cover all psychological studies of learning in a single issue attests to the wealth of studies being published. A large amount of research exists on the empirics of learning—for example, on massed and distributed learning, retention, and retroactive inhibition. True, psychologists may not have the firmly established and broadly applicable knowledge for which we some day hope. Still, a great deal remains that, either now or in the future, can be tried out in school learning situations. The schools cannot close up shop for a generation or two, while research workers and theorists accumulate the knowledge we need. An informed guess from a learning theorist is a better basis for direction than is the floundering in the dark for which it substitutes. And when informed guesses are coupled with the

great deal of empirical knowledge we already have about human learning, we probably have a foundation on which we can at least tentatively build a procedure for planning learning experiences in the schools. Without such communications from psychologists concerned with learning, the teaching profession must make its own attempts to translate research findings into classroom situations. Where psychologists themselves are unwilling to help with a task of making psychology applicable to school situations, it is unfair to blame school people for translations that are halting and extrapolations that are wild.

As a simple example, let us take the psychologist's knowledge of reinforcement. By no means all psychologists will concur on the precise role of reinforcement in learning. Yet it is probably safe to assume almost all would agree that reinforcement is crucial in altering the subsequent performance of an organism. Skinner once gave an example of the teacher who was sensitive to noise when she had a headache. When the children got particularly loud upon such occasions, and she could stand it no longer, she gave them a recess period. Few teachers would probably violate so flagrantly the principle of reinforcement. On the other hand, one can see illustrations every day of a teacher's failing to reward the desired response, or, as in the case above, rewarding the undesired one instead. There is always the problem of reinforcement that is much delayed. The spelling test is at 11:00 o'clock on Friday. On Monday morning the children learn how they fared. The arithmetic problems are worked tonight; perhaps tomorrow or the next day they will learn whether they got the correct answer.

The psychologist as translator into school situations has often faced two problems. One is that the psychologist who attempts to explain psychological findings in layman's terms and to adapt them to everyday situations faces a barrage of criticisms from his colleagues. He is accused of popularizing, oversimplifying, even of prostituting psychological knowledge. This is not too surprising in a young and self-conscious discipline, jealous of its scientific and academic purity. Responsible persons in the field, however, have realized that this attitude may also, when carried to the extreme, be viewed as social irresponsibility. An indication of awareness of this problem is seen in the establishment of the

Distinguished Scientific Writing Awards of the American Psychological Association. These awards have as one of their basic purposes the recognition of excellence in psychological writing for the lay public (American Psychological Association, 1959).

The other problem the psychologist as translator often faces is that of translating into a language foreign to him. How can the person who knows little about the schools show the relevance of psychological findings to school practice? Familiar to all of us is the naiveté of the young clinician faced for the first time with making recommendations to a teacher on how to handle a given child in the classroom. The school psychologist, of all members of his profession, should be in the favored position to serve as mediator, or channel of communication, between the psychology of the laboratory and the practical situations of the classroom. Experienced and effective school psychologists have always served more or less in this capacity. The problem today is one of making this kind of translation and application more broadly available to school people. The answer may lie in the kind of training the school psychologist has and the extent to which, after going out from the university, he is able to maintain contact with the mainstream of psychology. These are possibilities we must examine later in the book.

The school's need for a justifiable basis for the organizing of learning experiences suggests another avenue of approach. Research on learning in the human child has markedly increased. Also on the ascendant is research using materials corresponding to learning tasks the child encounters in school. There are differences of opinions among psychologists specializing in learning as to whether the time is ripe for such an approach. Some believe it is. The research carried out in recent years at the Child Welfare Research Station of the State University of Iowa is an interesting example of a concerted effort to test learning theory with child subjects.

SOME RELATED AREAS. Let us now move on from learning theory and the empirical psychology of learning, as usually defined, to a broader look at some of the concomitants of school learning in children. Again we see much that needs to be done by way of research, and also much that has been done. There is and will be

research on the motivation of children in school settings. For example, we find research on level of aspiration and achievement motivation in children, on social class influences upon learning, on teacher characteristics as related to child productivity. Each of these areas is one of crucial concern to the schools. Some of this research is known to teachers. Much, however, is not. Particularly, we might ask, how is the teacher to keep up with the on-going research in all these areas? The school psychologist does not have the only solution, but he may have one effective answer to the problem.

Another broad and related area is that of learning disabilities. Working with children retarded in reading, or in arithmetic, for example, demands not only diagnosis of specific causes of retardation. It also demands the use of some operating principles on how learning takes place in children. Here again the school psychologist can serve both his discipline and the schools if he is able to develop better communication between the two.

MENTAL HEALTH

We come now to the second broad concern of this chapter, mental health. Mental health is certainly not distinct from the things already discussed; study after study, for example, has explored the relationship between reading disability and personality adjustment. It is convenient, however, for expository purposes to treat these two areas somewhat separately, since reasons for the significance of the two can be traced to different sources.

Mental health, as a designation, leaves much to be desired. Its meaning is vague; all too often in the public mind it carries a strong connotation of mental disease. The Joint Commission on Mental Illness and Health recognized the primary importance of trying at least to clarify this term when it planned and published as the first of its monograph series, *Current Concepts of Positive Mental Health*, by Marie Jahoda (1958). Jahoda's book sheds considerable light upon the meanings with which psychiatrists and psychologists have endowed the term; she finds a large amount of communality among definitions of positive mental health. Still the term remains too diffuse and variable in usage to be com-

pletely satisfactory. No one has come up with a better term, however, or at least one with general acceptance. And so we shall use it also to refer to the whole area of concern with the individual's sense of personal well-being and with his ability to realize his potential and to establish productive relationships with others.

There are at least two major reasons why mental health is a highly appropriate area of concern for the school psychologist.

The Magnitude of the Problem

The first reason is the size of the mental health problem in this country. Statistics on mental illness are so widely publicized that they need little repetition here. Yet we might for a moment look at these:

Some 10 percent of the nation need help with emotional problems during any one year, according to the Commission on Chronic Illness.

One half of all hospital beds in the United States are occupied by mental patients.

One out of ten babies now born will spend some time in a mental hospital.

Nearly one third of the total operating budget and of capital outlay of some of the largest and wealthiest states is for hospitalization in state mental institutions. Even here, the hospitalization is woefully inadequate (Albee, 1959).

If we are going to make any attack on the mental illness problem of our country, then every institution and every agency with potential for mental health must play a part.

Albee's monograph (1959) for the Joint Commission on Mental Illness and Health, *Mental Health Manpower Trends*, has pointed out with convincing documentation the utter impossibility, without some drastic changes, of meeting mental health needs through the sole use of the professionals in the field—the psychologists, psychiatrists, social workers, psychiatric nurses. At the time Albee (1959, p. 79) wrote there was approximately one psychiatrist to every 18,000 people. He estimated it would take 20 years to double the number through current rates of training. And this, of course, did not allow for population increase. There are more

psychologists. In 1962 there were approximately 20,000 members of the American Psychological Association (American Psychological Association, 1962). Probably not more than half of them could be considered, however, as making direct professional contributions to mental health. This ratio is no better—worse even—than with psychiatrists. It should be remembered, however, that not all psychologists are members of the APA. Clark (1957, p. 182) suggests that probably slightly less than half are members. Yet the nonmembers represent a generally less trained group. Thus APA membership is probably a useful, if minimum, estimate of the trained personnel available. The picture is a similar one of inadequate numbers when we look at social work and psychiatric nursing. In all these areas the prospect is for growing shortages, as the increase in number trained fails to keep pace with the rapidly mounting population. Thus, even the casual onlooker can see that at least two things are needed. One is the use of nonprofessionals in trying to cope with the mental health problem. The other is the need of new ways, either through research or through social innovations, of working toward the creation of positive mental health and the prevention or treatment of mental illness.

The Pivotal Position of the Schools

When one asks the question of what nonprofessional personnel are in strategic positions to work in mental health, one comes to the second major reason why mental health is a particularly appropriate concern for the school psychologist. Of all institutions in our society, the school is probably in the most advantageous position to attack problems of prevention of mental disorder and the creation of vigorous mental health. The school is the only institution in our society that reaches everyone, and does this over a long period of time, and during the person's formative years. A child comes to school at five or six and, increasingly, is remaining until he is seventeen or eighteen. If he attends school for thirty-six weeks a year, a standard amount, during these twelve years he spends 14,000 to 16,000 hours in the schools. This is truly a massive contact with an institution having potential for mental health. Furthermore, the school provides a natural setting for

dealing with such concerns of mental health as the realization of potentials and the establishment of productive relationships with others.

Barbara Biber (1961), in a discussion of mental health principles as they might be used in a school setting, has made a telling comparison of Marie Jahoda's list of criteria for positive mental health with a list derived from the approach of such educators as John Dewey. Jahoda's (1958) criteria were as follows: attitudes of an individual toward himself; growth, development or self-actualization; integration; autonomy; perception of reality; and environmental mastery.

Biber lists the following seven principles: positive feeling toward the self; realistic perception of self and others; relatedness to people; relatedness to the environment; independence; curiosity and creativity; and recovery and coping strength.

The basic similarity of these lists is obvious to the reader. What is education but the realization of potential along some directions? And certainly for most individuals, the classroom is the social setting, of all those encountered throughout life, in which over an extended period of time one learns to live with a relatively large social group.

As Biber has pointed out, a concern with positive mental health has been implicit in the writings of many educators over half a century. A parallel concern with the schools among professionals in mental health is of more recent origin. Bobbitt (1961), in an address before the Third Institute of Preventive Psychiatry, places any active concern on their part with positive mental health as dating from the decade of the fifties. Recent as the interest may be, however, the pressure of the times is bringing it into sharp focus. Implicit in the concept is a notion of avoiding mental ill health; in fact, some writers, such as Caplan (1961), prefer the term *primary prevention* for what we have been calling positive mental health. Also implicit is the idea that normality is not mediocrity, but a world of infinite possibilities for the development of excellence, in many directions. To turn upside down the famous opening sentence of *Anna Karenina*, we will find that happy individuals are not all alike, that each is happy (or productive) in his own particular way.

So we come again to the timeliness of concern for prevention and for positive mental health among the psychologists who work in the schools. And we also come to the teacher, for within the schools she is the strategic person in promoting mental health. A teacher in a normal professional career spends over a million child hours in the classroom. No other professional individual working with human beings comes even within shouting distance of this direct contact. Teachers then are in a uniquely favorable position to make an impact upon the mental health problems of the country—if in some way they can acquire or increase their skills and knowledge in working toward mental health, and if they can somewhere find the time and freedom from other demands to make this possible.

Just as the school psychologist may be the mediator between psychology and the schools with respect to school learning, so he may find the field of mental health one in which he may likewise serve as a channel of communication. He may become an adapter to school situations of what knowledge is or will in the future be available on the origins and concomitants of mental illness and of positive mental health.

As an illustration of a situation within the schools with mental health implications, we might take the development of the appropriate sex role. This is considered by some (for example, Loomis, 1959) to be one of the major life demands for the elementary school child. Such writers as McCandless (1961) have pointed out that the middle class American boy may find it difficult indeed to develop an appropriate masculinity. His teachers are women; thus he may identify adult behavior and standards with the female sex. Often his father is a weekend and evening parent, who leaves the management of the children up to his wife. The boy, then, is often driven back upon two expedients: first, that of patterning his conduct after his peers or the slightly older boys; second, that of behaving in an opposite fashion from all that he sees as female. Either solution, or the more usual combination, is apt to lead to difficulties with adults, and also to the development of what might be viewed as a primitive rather than a realistic masculinity. Merely the teacher's understanding and tolerance for the boy's struggles may help. In addition, the pro-

vision of appropriate role models is both desirable and possible. More male teachers who are appropriate role models would help in the elementary school. Physical education instructors and playground supervisors to whom the boys can look up would also serve. Often there are men in the community who are willing to spend some time with boys who lack fathers. These same men may also learn to spend more time with their own sons as these youngsters struggle with the problem of how to be a boy.

The mental health hazards of achieving an appropriate sex role could be multiplied. Boys from the slums have a somewhat different but perhaps even more severe problem. The girls' achieving of an appropriate sex role is not unattended by difficulties and confusions. Such an illustration should serve, however, to point out that enough is known at present concerning some aspects of mental health to provide useful advice when applied to school situations. It also suggests that this can be done in terms meaningful to teachers and in forms that may have direct impact upon the experiences of children as they move through the grades of a school.

This chapter has taken as its concern the question of what areas of psychology, broadly interpreted, might find productive use in the schools. Yet there has certainly been implicit in much of the exposition hints as to how the psychologist might go about working in these areas. The status of knowledge in the two fields and the needs within the schools suggest certain possible procedures. The next five chapters will examine in detail some ways in which psychologists might work to render possible the optimal utilization of psychological knowledge and skills in school settings.

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4

THE DATA-ORIENTED PROBLEM SOLVER: I. The Research Role of the School Psychologist

All school people see themselves as problem solvers, and indeed they are. Teachers spend their days solving problems of how to teach one thing and another to John and Jennifer. The time of a school executive is spent in a welter of decisions. One moment he must smooth the ruffled feathers of an irate parent. Five minutes later, he must meet with the school board to discuss what site to choose for a new school building. The principal, the librarian, the dietitian, the custodian, all have problems they must solve for the effective running of a school.

The school psychologist is not unique as a problem solver in the schools. He does, however, bring certain points of view and special skills, which means that in most schools he is the person most likely to be able to approach problems of human behavior in a data-oriented, empirical fashion.

If there is one common thread running through all doctoral programs in psychology today, it is probably the heavy emphasis

on research training. An approach to problems in terms of what is researchable within them has come to be regarded as the true hallmark of the profession. This is less characteristic of the other professions typically found working in the schools. True, some schools are fortunate and wealthy enough to have established research departments. But even in these lucky schools, as Ryans (1957) has documented, the research department all too often has as its major function making surveys in relation to budgetary concerns. In essence, the department is actually an arm of the administration.

Traditionally, and currently, much of the school psychologist's work has been in data collection and the attempted solution of problems on the basis of these data. In a sense, all appraisal of children, the most ubiquitous function of the school psychologist, is directed toward a data-oriented solution of problems. There are other ways less common, however, in which the psychologist might appropriately use his problem-solving skills in the schools. This chapter and the one to follow will be concerned with the role of the school psychologist as such an empirical problem solver. There will be particular emphasis on those aspects of the role that are probably less codified and structured by usage as appropriate areas for the school psychologist. Stress will be placed on using this role to make a broader and more effective contribution to the schools of the future.

Since it is of crucial importance at the present time, we shall look first at the research role of the psychologist in the schools. If there was ever a time when the schools, and the whole educational enterprise, stood in need of answers to the problems that confront them, it is now. Not all these problems are researchable in nature, nor are all such researchable questions appropriate ones for school psychologists. Yet many are. The school psychologist who takes the long view will find a rich opportunity for making an enduring contribution to human betterment in providing data-based empirical answers to some of the psychological problems that beset the schools.

THE CURRENT SITUATION

A research role for the school psychologist is not an easy one. In its initiation it is often attended by difficulties. A number of people, both lay and professional, raise questions about the school psychologist's role in research. Those who train psychologists are probably least ambivalent on this issue. Ability to do research on problems of human behavior seems to be the *sine qua non* of the psychologist's role as impressed upon the psychologist-to-be in graduate school. Yet the school psychologist, going out upon the job, is likely to have a rude awakening. Accustomed in graduate school to seeing research as a veritable Holy Grail, he is dismayed to see that the public, including the parents and the teachers in the schools where he works, fails to share his reverence. Indeed, research is sometimes an ugly word, looked upon with downright suspicion or dislike.

Reasons for this feeling are probably complex, its origins obscure. True, for some problems the public now accepts the importance of research and experimentation as crucial to the advancement of human welfare. The public press, for example, made very clear the significance of control groups in testing the efficacy of polio vaccine. The use of such a procedure was accepted—at least where other people's children were concerned. Yet the public has generally been less willing to accept research on human behavior. Part of this suspiciousness may stem from the lurid kinds of motivation research that Vance Packard describes in the *Hidden Persuaders* (1957). Everyman's home is his castle; everyman's mind is his secret citadel. The popularity of such books as James Thurber's *Let Your Mind Alone* attests to the unwillingness of many persons to submit to the manipulation they believe implicit in research on human behavior. This becomes particularly true when we see the public as parents with all their concerns for their children's welfare. And the people of a community see the schools primarily in their roles as parents.

School personnel share such feelings. The newly fledged school psychologist who tries to initiate a research project during his first week on the job will not be met with enthusiasm. One reason,

of course, is that teachers are parents too, and this in a dual sense. More and more, teachers—in the elementary school at least—are women with children of their own. In addition, this position *in loco parentis* gives them a similar protective attitude toward the children in their classroom. And teachers have not been subjected in graduate school to a long period of indoctrination leading them to place research at the top of a hierarchy of important functions. Most classroom research causes some inconvenience for the teacher, and it cuts into her teaching time. In addition, some teachers have had unfortunate experiences with psychologists or others who have conducted research in their classrooms. They failed to explain to the teacher the meaning of the research in question; they gave no reasons for procedure that disturbed her routine, no information on the outcome of the study. After such an experience, the teacher can hardly be expected to view another research project with eagerness.

When school psychologists list functions for themselves, either actual ones or those they would like, research brings up the rear. It is listed last or next to last; it is generally qualified by some such statement as "if he has time" (Cutts, 1955, p. 41). Why? For one thing, in many situations psychologists get little reinforcement for their research efforts in the schools. For the reasons already mentioned, the school setting gives them little encouragement. School psychologists often have small time for research and very little support. Frequently they lack colleagues knowledgeable in research to help them sharpen their thinking and planning. Thus, the research done is often not of high caliber. Members of the profession who do not labor under these same constraints then look askance at the school psychologist's contribution. Little encouragement, then, is forthcoming from the profession.

Another reason why research is placed low in a list of current or desired activities for the school psychologist is the problem of the urgent versus the important. Research, from the layman's point of view at least, is seldom urgent. Service always is. It takes a strong commitment to research to prevent the school psychologist from completely bogging down in service demands. Research, then, is a function the school psychologist will find extremely

hard to carry out effectively—at least in the beginning of his work in school systems.

Difficult as the situation is, however, there is probably no other function in which the school psychologist can make so great a contribution to education. Not all the problems confronting the schools today are ones for which research can provide an answer, or even suggest a direction in which to seek answers. On the other hand, for many problems of school organization, deployment of personnel, and instructional methods, appropriate research can provide at least partial answers. And, in the double bind of needing to increase teacher productivity and teacher effectiveness simultaneously, school executives must answer questions as to how their schools should be organized, subject matter taught, children grouped. All too often the answers found for such questions are based upon prejudices, hunches, and casual observation.

In situations such as these research can provide answers on whether a proposed change in instructional methods is really any better than the current procedure. The psychologist can set up research plans to provide as precise and economical an answer as possible to the question posed. Few people unsophisticated in experimental design have any notion of the enormous difference careful and appropriate design of experiments can make in terms of precision and economy. A beautiful example was described many years ago by William Sealy Gosset ("Student," 1931) in his discussion of the Lanarkshire milk experiment. In this study 5000 children drank three fourths of a pint of raw milk daily. Another 5000 took the same amount of pasteurized milk. An additional 10,000 served as a control group. This went on for four months. The experiment had several flaws, a major one being that teachers selected the experimental and control groups. In the kind-hearted fashion of teachers, they selected the weaker, more undernourished children for the experimental group. The most striking point, however, made by Gosset was that equally precise information would have been yielded by using not the 20,000 children but fifty pairs of identical twins. This would have cost only 2 percent of what was expended on the original experiment, a saving of some \$35,000. Here we have a clear case of how re-

search sophistication could have resulted in an enormous saving of time and money, with no sacrifice of precision.

It is not the purpose of the present chapter to go into considerations of appropriate experimental design. The psychologist must learn through a rigorous research training how to choose the statistical techniques and experimental design appropriate for a given research project. In such training he should have opportunity to practice his research skills in settings not too dissimilar to those he will find when he goes out upon the job. This chapter will present some of the more practical considerations that go into the school psychologist's research role under the headings of *Ad Hoc* Research, Applied Research, and Basic Research.

AD HOC RESEARCH

In a sense good teachers and school executives have always been experimenters. They have continually "messed around" with the curriculum and with methods of instruction, trying first this and then that to see what was effective. Many keen insights and happy ideas have gone into such tinkering with the curriculum, with organization, and instruction. Unfortunately, however, few teachers and school executives have been able to find precise evidence for the effectiveness of the innovations they have made.

For some years now the term *action research* has been popular in the schools. It has often been invoked to encourage teachers to do more messing around, and that of a more critical nature. Regrettably, however, action research has not become the scientific basis for instructional and curriculum practices that was once hoped. The problem seems to be that school people are often willing to accept opinion and feeling rather than data-oriented answers. All too often changes have been made on the basis of "we tried it out and felt good about the results," rather than upon critical evidence. One reason has been that research design today requires a high level of statistical sophistication. With the exception of specifically trained research personnel, few persons in schools are likely to have the requisite knowledge.

The school psychologist can help teachers and administrators

collect data to provide answers to questions they put to their own methods of teaching, grouping, organization and so on. In this way he can make a major contribution. If skillfully carried out, *ad hoc* research is probably the area in which the school psychologist should first begin to exercise a research role.

Here the school psychologist performs as facilitator and helper. He aids the teacher in posing questions in such form that they are capable of answer. The problem is defined and delimited. He helps the teacher decide on appropriate criterion measures; he helps establish the necessary controls in the conduct of the experiment. Generally speaking, helping the teacher delimit the problem and set up criterion measures is not so difficult as helping set up appropriate controls. Research is hard and tedious. Controls are particularly difficult to establish. Often the school administrator and teacher simply do not see the importance of controls. School personnel often have not thought of such factors as socioeconomic status, level of intelligence, and reading ability as influencing a given learning situation. They may underestimate the importance of teacher variability. In many schools it is not easy to find comparable experimental and control groups. It becomes more difficult when several treatment groups are required.

The concept of control comes hard. Unfortunately, many people in education tend to believe that the situation is entirely black or white. One must either have a controlled situation that is a perfect facsimile in every respect of the experimental situation—an obvious impossibility—or else one must throw out the whole concept of control. It will take time, patience, and skill on the part of the school psychologist to develop in other school personnel a reasonable concept of control. In time, however, teachers may seek to control that which is most relevant and most subject to control, and, in an all-too-imperfect world, make the closest approximation to the ideal.

It may take a long time for school personnel to learn to carry on *ad hoc* research that will supply findings in which they can place some confidence. As in most situations in which one wishes to develop new attitudes and new points of view in a group, time and patience are essential. The psychologist might best begin with teachers and administrators on those problems most ame-

nable to research techniques. He may be able to demonstrate the usefulness of experiments that provide precise and economical answers. Sometimes the school psychologist can short-circuit this process if he has access to groups for in-service training. In such situations a lecture, no matter how carefully planned, will probably be least effective. Demonstrations that show the results of failure to control certain relevant variables will have more impact. It is not too difficult to set up situations in which biased experimental and control groups make a difference in the outcome. It is easy to arrange experiments in which variations in timing, amount of distraction, and the like influence the results. An example of how this was done in one school system follows.

Graduate students in a school psychology program were asked to plan one-half day of in-service training for a group of approximately 100 teachers. Impressed with the importance of research in their own graduate training, they decided on the topic of the role of research in the schools. Like many such projects, it became somewhat grandiose and full of entirely too many ideas to get across in one morning. Finally, it was cut down more closely to size; attempts were made to get across only a few basic thoughts. The most important idea was the concept of control in experimentation. The students arranged a small demonstration in which each of the teachers was to participate. If each of the teachers could see the effect of variability in approaches upon her own individual performance, the idea of control might hit home. The demonstration required the teachers to engage in a learning task new to them, but basically similar to those that children encounter in the classroom. The task was the learning of a new number system to the base of five. Pre- and post-tests were devised. The criterion measure was to be the amount of change from pre- to post-tests in solving problems using the base of five. The teachers were randomized into four groups. In one group the specified conditions were carried out. In the second group the experimenter ran two minutes over the specified time. A third group received some coaching from the experimenter; a fourth group was distracted by several interruptions. The four groups then met together, their test papers were scored, and group comparisons worked out. Fortunately, the demonstration proved a success, in

that the differences among the four groups were in the expected directions. This was not all good fortune, however. A trial of the demonstration on a pilot group had shown that certain alterations would sharpen the differences in the groups. The task chosen was sensitive to changes such as coaching, distractions, and variations in time. This simple demonstration did not basically change the teachers' attitudes. It did, however, provide an initial step in clarifying the concept of control and proved useful in subsequent work. The demonstration could be used as a case in point when discussing control in other studies.

More than any other type, *ad hoc* research can establish the psychologist as a research worker in the schools. Sometimes his role will be as helper and facilitator for teachers and administrators in testing their own ideas. Sometimes he himself will carry out research on problems of immediate concern to his school system.

One dangerous aspect of this role, however, lies in the very nature of research, and particularly *ad hoc* research that often cannot command the careful prior exploration and the experimental rigor possible in the laboratory. Bright hunches and clever guesses probably fail to be confirmed more often than not. Thus, the psychologist has ever the problem of interpreting negative results to teachers, and of helping school personnel not to expect too much of their *ad hoc* research.

So far the discussion of *ad hoc* research has been centered around its more difficult aspects: lack of understanding of the need for rigor in experimentation, negative reactions to the concept of research, disappointment in negative or nonsignificant results. The situation, however, is by no means always so dreary. The writer knows a high school in which a psychologist proposed a study involving group counseling experiences for an experimental group of high school students. The principal was interested and cooperative. Indeed, so enthusiastic was he that he asked the experimenter to provide the experiences for the control group also. Although well intentioned, this comment was a bit of a blow to the psychologist. He recovered himself, however, and explained in some detail the reasons for a control group. This same principal was approached a year later about a study that

involved some special vocational training for a group of educable mentally retarded children. Again a control group was needed. The principal was asked whether such a study would arouse unfavorable reactions among parents of the youngsters in the control group. This time the principal replied that he would tell these parents he owed it to his school and patrons to find out whether the educational method would really work before adopting it for all the children for whom it might seem appropriate. This is coming a long way in one year. Probably more than most, school people can learn to see the importance of research and the safeguards that must be placed around experimental procedures if one is going to come out with precise answers. It takes time, much time, but the rewards can be great for anyone who wishes to increase our store of knowledge on the many problems of the educational enterprise.

APPLIED RESEARCH

Applied research is used here as a separate heading to distinguish it from *ad hoc* research, which is concerned with problems specific to a given school, and to distinguish it from basic research in the usual way of seeing applied research as directed towards the solution of practical problems. This three-way distinction is, of course, artificial; the boundaries are hazy, and upon occasion a given research endeavor may partake of all three approaches. In fact, one can argue that the most productive research in school systems will combine aspects of two or all three of these approaches. This we shall return to later.

It is in the general area of applied research that the psychologist may make his major contribution to increasing educational knowledge. He may thus aid in solving broad problems of the schools, faced as they are today with the interacting pressures of a need for greater productivity and a demand for better quality. Where the need is great, the temptation is to rush out and go into action immediately. This is happening all over the country. There is a spate of demonstration of new techniques of instruction—television, automated teaching, team teaching, new approaches to grouping, ungraded elementary schools, Joplin plans. But there is

little sober and rigorous evaluation. As in other areas of great human need, such as the treatment of the mentally ill, the public and professionals must face a hard paradox: the greater the need for service, even greater the need for research. Endless time, and a great deal of money, is spent in demonstrating and exploring new techniques and methods. Yet there is far less attempt to pose the question of whether such changes do have measurable affects of the kind we hope for. The greatest contribution in the long run toward the solution of problems such as these will not be made by those who are stampeded into action—any kind of action—but by those who, having created new approaches, can then go on to provide data upon the measurable effects of such proposed changes.

Obtaining Financial Support for Applied Research

Analogies are beguiling, though sometimes dangerous. School people often resent analogies of business with education. This is easily understandable. Children share little in common with compact cars and cereal boxes. The goals of education cannot be translated into criteria as neat and unequivocal as the number of units of a given product turned out per hour in a factory. Yet the public, in terms of education, has much to learn from industry. In the first chapter the point was made that general support, both public and professional, was needed for allocating a sizable amount of educational monies to research and development. Industries typically will devote as much as 5 percent of their budgets to such activities.

Public support for such an idea may not be immediately forthcoming. In the meantime, however, there are hopeful signs. There is increasing money available for educational research from foundations and from government agencies. Conspicuous among foundations today is the Ford Foundation, which has embraced the idea of research and development as a major responsibility for education in our time.

In government agencies the Cooperative Research Program of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, a relative newcomer on the scene, has provided large-scale support for re-

search on educational problems. The National Institute of Mental Health is not ordinarily perceived as a research branch concerned directly with educational problems, yet it awards many research grants on problems relating to mental health that have direct relevance to the schools. The National Defense Education Act (1958) provides financing for research upon the use of instructional media. Another branch of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, the Children's Bureau, is interested in research related to child behavior.

Young and Odbert (1960) report that, for the year 1959, over one and one half million was spent by governmental agencies to support extramural research in educational psychology. Slightly in excess of four million was spent on research in developmental psychology. The amount for complex processes, including learning, motivation, and speech and language, was also over four million.

Money, then, is available. There is not enough, perhaps, and it is probably not easy for the unknowledgeable to obtain grant money. In addition, the research often needed on educational problems will be highly expensive. One cannot control and manipulate the human child and his teacher—fortunately—with the ease and economy with which one can set up procedures for the white rat.

Probably the main thing that stands in the way of obtaining research money, however, is a dearth of ideas. Beyond that there are certain skills to be learned in preparing proposals; one must become informed about foundations and government agencies, and their particular interests and concerns.

Such helpful information is available in published form. The most useful books on foundations are probably *American Foundations and Their Fields* (Rich, 1955), and the *Foundation Directory* (Foundation Library Center, 1960). These books give considerable information on foundations in terms of capital, kinds of expenditures, particular interest areas of the foundation, and the like. The Cooperative Research Program sends detailed information about the program and about the research projects it sponsors to anyone who writes them. It also provides information

on the form in which to submit a proposal. The National Institute of Mental Health will also supply detailed information on grant proposals and related matters.

Because of the continued requests from psychologists for this sort of help, government agencies seem willing to use many avenues to give their potential grantees information. For example, such agencies often send representatives to national and regional associations of psychologists and other professionals to discuss in more detail questions of obtaining research support.

One of the major problems, however, in obtaining support for research, particularly difficult for the inexperienced, is the period of exploration and study needed before submitting a proposal. Unless one is well established it is hard to find financial support for this kind of activity. In addition, not all fund-granting agencies will make awards directly to school systems. Research may therefore die aborning, since this stage of research is often time-consuming and may demand expert consultation of the sort not always available without expensive travel. To the extent that a solution to these problems exists, it may lie in establishing liaison with a university department of psychology, particularly one with an active research program. Such a relationship can serve other useful functions as well. Most departments will have a research design specialist who can help with problems of designing the study. This—once there is an idea worth trying—is the crux of the whole matter. For a school psychologist who works alone, the university department may be able to serve as a sounding board for him as he develops an idea. It may provide a source of reinforcement for him, something sorely needed when he comes to question, as he is sure to do in a school situation, whether he should put off service demands for the nonimmediate rewards of research.

Establishing a Climate of Acceptance

Another problem faces the school psychologist when he wishes to move away from immediate problems to long-range ones and to those not necessarily applicable at a given time to his own particular school system. This is the issue of creating acceptance for the research he wishes to do. A school executive and his staff

can buy the notion that it is worthwhile for the psychologist to try to answer some of the problems directly in front of them. With the great service demand of the schools, it is not surprising that more distant goals are less appealing. Again there is no easy answer. Success in this endeavor probably lies in building up gradually a climate of opinion that sees research and development as a major responsibility of any great enterprise. Success also comes from the acceptance that the school psychologist receives from the school staff. If the staff has confidence in his wisdom and integrity it is far more apt to go along with his ideas of what he should do. It is again a matter of interpretation and performance over a period of time. Unless one goes into an established department of psychological services with precedent and support for applied research, such acceptance is not something that one can acquire in one year or even two. Patience is not only a virtue but a necessity if one is to establish oneself in applied research.

Some Problems in Need of Applied Research

The rewards are great for establishing such a climate of acceptance for applied research. The problems of today's and tomorrow's schools are numerous and complex; many of them are researchable in nature. Take, for example, such an obvious problem as class size. One thing we know about class size: the usually recommended ratio of one teacher to every 25 to 35 children cannot be maintained in the future, as the school population booms and the teacher population tends to remain finite. In some subject matter areas, and at some levels, we may need to think in terms of perhaps greatly increased numbers of children. In others the ratio may remain unchanged, or may in certain situations be reduced to much smaller numbers of children. There is a large body of research on class size in relation to achievement. The bulk of it, however, is inapplicable, since it is limited chiefly to high school and college, and to direct subject-matter acquisition. Further research on class size in relation to the age of children and to the sort of knowledge, understandings, and skills to be imparted is still vitally needed. The social and personal effects of class size remain largely unexplored.

Other problems occur in relation to the grouping of children.

The ungraded elementary school is a concept gaining support in education. Its proponents claim many positive benefits. From the standpoint of simple economy, however, it seems folly to undertake such a change, unless one can base it upon research already completed or else build in some evaluation of the change as it is being made. Nor has the problem of ability grouping by any means been settled. The vigorous battle over self-contained classrooms versus the use of specialist teachers seems to be waged on the part of the protagonists more often with feeling than with facts. And so it goes.

With a need for increasing teacher productivity, there is value in any well-designed research directed toward establishing meaningful relationships between teacher effectiveness and such teacher characteristics as attitudes, training, and social behavior.

A field little explored by research in education, although of considerable interest and significance to the schools, is the use of nonprofessional personnel. Many innovations have been made in the use of such persons, either as resource people for special subject matter areas, or as adjunctive personnel to take over some of the general functions assigned to the teacher. Some evaluation is needed beyond "it seemed a good idea, and we were pleased with the results." Such research is often quite feasible to plan. It is true that some is already on the way, but more is needed.

The field is wide open for research directed toward school learning and the testing out in school situations of the learning principles established in the laboratory. The same holds true for instructional methods.

The programming of learning activities for instructional purposes is, at the time of this writing, probably the most current and conspicuous area in school learning that needs research. Automated instruction has become a battlefield between those who feel that here is the panacea for all the problems of increasing teacher productivity and those who feel that teaching machines are an invention of the devil. It is beguiling to explore the origins of people's motives. Some persons feel that the only true learning environment is the opposite end of the log from that on which Mark Hopkins sat. Others believe that the optimal learning habitat is a Skinner box. Such exploration is an in-

triguing parlor game, but what we really need are some facts, some answers from research as to the things which automated instruction can and cannot do. There are probably times when Mark Hopkins' log is the best of all learning environments, times when the Skinner box is, and yet many others in which the social environment of a classroom is essential for optimal learning.

Examples could be multiplied on the need for applied research in the schools. Perhaps the ones above suffice to indicate the magnitude of the problem. If each school psychologist could make some meaningful research attack—no matter how small—on one of these problems, in time our body of knowledge would grow. We could then make decisions upon solidly based fact rather than upon prejudice, opinion, and casual observation, too often our mentors and guides.

BASIC RESEARCH

Should the school psychologist do basic research? A large part of the answer must lie in the deepest values and commitments of the individual concerned.

The Argument for Basic Research

The paradox of choice faced by any scientist in deciding between doing applied or basic research has been well explored by W. O. Baker (1959) in the *Symposium on Basic Research* of the American Association for the Advancement of Science. In his paper he quotes Roger Bacon on just this point.

Now among all the benefits that could be conferred upon mankind I found none so great as the discovery of new arts, endowments and commodities for the bettering of man's life. For I saw that among the crude people in primitive homes authors of inventions and discoveries were consecrated and numbered among the Gods. . . . But above all, if a man could succeed, not in striking out some particular invention, however useful, but in kindling a light in nature—a light which should in its ray rising touch and illuminate all the border regions that confine upon the circles of our present knowledge; and so spreading further and further should presently disclose and bring into sight all that is most hidden and secret in

the world, that man (I thought) would be the benefactor indeed of the human race—the propagator of man's empire over the universe, the champion of liberty, the conqueror and subduer of necessities.

The antinomy between applied and basic research has never been more beautifully expressed than in these words of Bacon, written seven hundred years ago.

Although there are other reasons for concern with basic research, the wish "to kindle a light in nature" is perhaps most deepseated. The uncharted area of knowledge becomes the ultimate challenge, just as for George Leigh Mallory, the only valid reason for climbing Mt. Everest was "because it was there."

And in addition any scientist with a bent for history is well aware of the way in which the highly theoretical becomes ultimately the basis for the most practical of applications. The familiar dictum, "There is nothing so practical as a good theory," continues to hold. Or as one nonscientist (Panofsky, 1955, p. 23) has well expressed it:

The man who takes a paper dollar in exchange for twenty-five apples commits an act of faith and subjects himself to a theoretical doctrine, as did the medieval man who paid for an indulgence. The man who is run over by an automobile is run over by mathematics, physics, and chemistry. . . . I could just as well have said he is run over by Euclid, Archimedes, and Lavoisier.

One can provide an additional and more mundane argument, however: the responsibility of any member of a profession to add to the knowledge of his chosen field. Some years ago Fillmore Sanford (1951) wrote an essay entitled "The Good Profession" in which he attempted to set up criteria by which one could judge the long-term value of a profession to mankind. He advanced the idea, among others, that the good profession is one which keeps very close to the sources of knowledge upon which the profession is based and at the same time increases that knowledge. Psychology, he felt, had the greatest opportunity to become a truly "good" profession by following a model in which science and practice were not kept separate and distinct, as they tend to be in medicine, for example. Instead, he would hope to see a model in which the scientist and practitioner, to use William

James's fine phrase, would keep house in the same tenement of clay. This may be a counsel of perfection. Perhaps the psychologist simply cannot survive the tension of being both a professional and a scientist, and will fall on one side or the other. Perhaps there is need, as some suggest, for a practitioner's degree in psychology as distinct from a doctorate in philosophy. On the other hand, the concept of a science-profession may be the best of all ways for fresh insights and ideas from the field to be fed back into research, and for research findings to be translated promptly and appropriately into action. One might argue that it is not imperative for a good research worker in psychology to be a practitioner—although many have been. It may be highly important, however, for the good practitioner to be a contributor to the knowledge of his chosen field. This concept of a science-profession has been discussed at some length by Stuart W. Cook (1958). We will return to it in a later chapter on professional development.

Many areas of psychology would seem natural subjects for basic research in the schools. Knowledge concerning human development should certainly be obtainable in settings in which children spend large amounts of their time from six to eighteen years of age. Cognitive development, about which we know so little, could certainly be studied in school settings. Social behavior would seem just as rich a field. A whole arsenal of learning problems related to discrimination, mediation, transfer, retention, could be studied in that vast, potential learning laboratory, the public school.

If the school psychologist cannot or does not wish to do basic research himself, he can often make a useful contribution by serving as a liaison person with a university department interested in and capable of doing such research in the schools. He can also supply to university people insights and hypotheses that come from immersion in the day-by-day concerns and activities of teachers and pupils.

Some Problems of Conducting Basic Research in the Schools

As with applied research, the school psychologist will face problems in obtaining financial support of basic research. Fortunately,

over the years, there has been increasing emphasis in fund-granting agencies on the long-term importance of basic research. Not as much in the way of funds is available as for applied research, but at least there is some. The same possible sources of funds that were mentioned in the section on applied research would be appropriate here.

In the sections on *ad hoc* and applied research some consideration was given to the problem of gaining acceptance for such research in school settings. The cautions mentioned there apply in basic research as well—sometimes even more so, since it is often difficult and even undesirable to suggest any school value of an immediate nature from the research to be undertaken.

There are a few ways, however, of making basic research more palatable in the schools. One of these is expending of time and effort with the persons to be disrupted by the study, generally the classroom teachers, to explain reasons for procedures. This may not be successful—particularly the first time the teacher comes up against it—but it is common courtesy. One is asking a favor; the least one can do is to give reasons why the favor must be asked.

The second thing that will prove helpful is a *quid pro quo* approach. This, of course, applies to all kinds of research, although it is perhaps most needed here. If one can provide something to the teacher in return for her efforts, she is likely to be more willing to go along with the plan. The problem often occurs when the data one is collecting are either of no immediate application to the classroom or else are subject to misinterpretation. This would be true of many exploratory measures or experimental techniques. In such cases one can render some other service to the teacher in exchange, often by way of collecting for her some data useful in her classroom. Sociometric data, for example, can be highly useful to teachers at many grade levels.

A third approach is that of making every effort to plan research in terms of what is convenient for the teacher. Where it makes no difference in the rigor of the study, classes or individual children should be used at times when it is not disruptive to the school program, or to the children themselves. There are days and seasons of the year, particularly the last month of school, when

research workers are less welcome than at other times. Children do not enjoy being taken away from the ball field to sit in front of a memory drum.

Another thing to keep in mind is a simple courtesy; the person who helped the psychologist in his research should be informed of results as soon as possible and in understandable form. Many a teacher will say that what made her develop a negative attitude toward research was that "some young man came in from the university, upset my classroom, and then never came back to tell me what he found out, or even to say, 'thank you.'"

The foregoing may all be seen as courtesies due the schools and teachers involved, to say nothing of the children. There is, however, a more fundamental way of gaining acceptance for basic research in the schools. This lies in planning applied or even *ad hoc* research in such fashion that it provides data for basic research problems. This in many instances is both feasible and desirable. A conspicuous illustration of this approach has been the research program of the Air Force (Melton, 1952). Under the leadership of Arthur Melton, research workers over a period of years have brought the Armed Services to the point of accepting sponsorship for applied research that includes within its design an attack upon basic problems of psychological knowledge. This pattern would seem entirely possible for schools. It takes considerable skill to plan research that cuts across both applied and basic areas. Yet there are many available sources for research consultation to help in the planning stage. From this point onward the conduct of the research will not be too different, be it applied, basic, or both.

The Importance of Preliminary Planning

In research, as in other avenues of endeavor, the most effective school psychologist will be the one who can kill the most birds with a single stone—and to do this requires careful aim. Despite cries to the contrary, many schools and school people are greatly interested in innovation. Their problems are immediate; they want solutions to be rapidly forthcoming. New ways, then, are tried out with little time to set up adequate evaluation programs, with appropriate pre- and post-tests and the needed controls. The

school psychologist seems to pick this up through contagion. Too often, like Stephen Leacock's famous horseman, he mounts his steed and rides off in all directions. The hours spent in careful planning and preliminary exploration will pay off many times over in terms of exactness and efficiency in experimentation. Statistical techniques have made rapid strides in the last two decades. Now, many highly efficient methods of data analysis are available that make possible a precision and economy unheard of in the days of E. L. Thorndike. One might return again to the Lanarkshire milk experiment as a classical example of a well-intended but foolish waste of time and money. Such situations suggest the need for a relatively high level of research sophistication on the part of the school psychologist. They also suggest the value of considerable research consultation long in advance of data gathering. There is no sorrier activity than trying to make sense out of data collected inappropriately in the first place. Often with a little more effort and forethought, data could have been so gathered so as to make possible a relatively precise answer to the question posed. One of the hardest, but important, lessons for the psychologist to learn is to hold his horse in check until he has carefully planned the direction in which he should be riding. For in this way, he has a far greater chance of reaching his destination.

A CASE IN POINT

To tie some of these points together in a practical situation, a description will be given of a research study conducted by the psychological services of a school system. It combines aspects of *ad hoc*, applied, and—to some extent—basic research. It also illustrates how it is possible to move from what was originally an immediate problem to one with broader implications.

The study in question was conducted to observe the effects of a special summer school experience upon the subsequent school performance of a group of culturally deprived children. This study had its origin in some of the immediate concerns of the school system involved. This system, in a southern state, was still segregated. The Negro population in the city tended to be of low

economic status and occupational level, although, as in most places, there was considerable variability. The principal of the Negro school and other school executives were concerned about a situation usual where segregated schools have been the rule. Whatever initial decrement there was in the school performance of the Negro children, the striking finding was one of progressive retardation as the children moved through the grades. By the end of elementary school, typically there was a two-year discrepancy between the average performances of the white and Negro children.

In the local situation the belief was current among the school people that the Negro youngsters started out at about the same level in the first grade; that retardation occurred later. This was a simple researchable question. Test scores were available on first grade achievement tests for both white and Negro children, as well as test scores for later grades. Statistical comparisons here, which had not been run heretofore, showed the Negro children significantly behind the white children at the end of the first year.

Another reason was then suggested in the community for the poor showing of the Negro children. This was the possibility that the Negro children entered school at an earlier age than the white youngsters. There was some reason for this supposition. A greater number of the Negro children had working mothers. These might be expected to send them to school at the earliest legal age. There was a belief too that in some of the white schools considerable appeal was made to the parents to consider the child's readiness before entering him in school. This again was a simple problem to check, although the available data had not been examined previously. The statistical comparison indicated that down to a second decimal point the Negro children and the white entered school at precisely the same age.

In their thinking, then, persons concerned with the initial and increasing retardation of these children were pushed into looking for other variables. Particularly they asked the question of the influence of the total life situation upon the performance of the child, especially as this influence existed prior to school entrance. This led naturally to the question of whether one could do something to reduce the handicaps the Negro child was experiencing

in the schools. Suggestions were made for working with parents, for making more use of social welfare agencies, for providing special preschool experiences for the children.

At this point the members of the psychological services of the school system entered the discussions. They attempted to base the problem more broadly and to suggest a plan to make possible the evaluation of whatever experiences were to be provided for the youngsters. Specifically, the psychologists suggested that they conduct a study to observe the effects of certain experiences which might be provided the youngsters in the summer prior to school entrance.

One of the first questions was that of the appropriate experimental group with which to work. Best guesses would seem to indicate that they were dealing here basically with a question of cultural deprivation without regard to race. The question then became the more broadly applied one: It was not a matter of what can one do with the Negro children in Town X, but of what one can do for culturally deprived children in towns similar in socio-economic distribution and educational level. This meant that some definition of cultural deprivation must be set up. Certain criterion measures were decided upon as relatively easy to apply and as relevant to cultural deprivation, if not direct measures of it. The variables chosen were those of education of parents, housing—for which there was detailed information in the urban renewal records of the city—ratings of county health and welfare officers, and the presence of a father in the home. Next, effort was spent in attempting to identify, at least at the conceptual level, the variables seeming to show most promise for possible manipulation over a single summer. Partly on the basis of available research on social class and on cultural deprivation, and partly merely on the basis of hunch, four variables were selected. These were: achievement motivation—including persistence, a general interest in school-type activities—called “bookishness,” perceptual training, and training in concept formation. In addition the research workers tried to plan the study so that it would contribute information of a more basic sort to questions of the origins of motivation and attitudes. After these major considerations were decided upon, a research design was planned approximately as follows: All chil-

dren entering the first grade in a given school in the city, who met the criteria of cultural deprivation, were given a series of pre-tests. These tests consisted of an individual intelligence test, a picture vocabulary test, and measures designed specifically for the study itself in an attempt to measure in these youngsters achievement motivation, persistence, "bookishness," and perceptual development. Children were then assigned randomly to experimental and control groups. During the summer the control groups spent the time at home as they would have done in any case. The experimental group for ten weeks came five mornings each week for a special summer school experience designed to maximize the variables to be manipulated. Both before and during the experimental sessions an enormous amount of time was devoted to the development of appropriate materials and to formulating lesson plans.

After the summer school experience the children entered the first grade. As there were two first grades in this school, the experimental and control children were assigned randomly to the two classes. During the first month of school the children were all given post-tests by examiners ignorant of the placement of the child in either experimental or control group. The crucial measures, however, were to be the achievement scores of the children at the end of first grade, as well as achievement scores in subsequent grades. At the end of the first grade these children were given a reading and an achievement test. They were also followed through subsequent grades.

This study was largely exploratory in nature, since so much ground work was needed on the variables to be manipulated and on the appropriate measures of these variables. Like many studies, at the end of the first year it yielded somewhat equivocal results. There were some significant gains in performance on the more reliable measures at the post-test period. There were no significant differences in achievement of experimental and control groups at the end of the first grade.

This finding, although disappointing to the experimenters, was in a sense almost exactly what they had expected. It would be encouraging to find that measurable changes could be wrought in so brief a period of time. It would, however, be surprising when one

compares the ten weeks of the experimental program with the six full years of cultural deprivation already experienced by these children.

Like much exploratory research, this study probably served best to offer promising leads for further research. And so the psychologists involved went on from this point to plan a far more comprehensive study of cultural deprivation in relation to school performance. This time they planned to expose the children to a more massive experience over a greater period of time, to develop more precise measures of the variables to be manipulated, and at the same time to develop better techniques for manipulating the variables involved. It would be an attempt to make an attack upon a problem of broad social implication. Thus it became applied research and at the same time research upon some general problems of human development which might add to the sum of psychological knowledge.

Like much research a school psychologist might do, this was hard; at times it was incredibly time-consuming. There were crises; sometimes there was much reinforcement for the investigators; sometimes none at all. Sometimes there were temptations to go outside the experimental design for motivations of service. In sum, this was a slice of life, as a school psychologist who embarks upon research may find it. In such a way, halting at times, but sometimes making forward progress, the school psychologist may discharge one basic responsibility to society, to his science—profession of psychology, and to the school system—the contribution of knowledge that holds potential for human betterment.

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5

THE DATA-ORIENTED PROBLEM SOLVER: II. Some Customary Functions Revisited

The preceding chapter was concerned with the research role of the school psychologist. But there are many other ways in which the school psychologist may bring an empirical problem-solving approach to the life of the school. Many of these are ways traditional to the work of the school psychologist, but with potential for a broader and more effective contribution to the schools than is always realized. This chapter will deal with functions that are customary ones for the school psychologist, but—it is hoped—will present some new emphases. Four such areas will be discussed in turn.

REFERRAL PROCEDURES

Ways of making referrals of individual children to the school psychologist run the gamut of possibilities. There is the casual request at the coffee break for the psychologist to test Sally Harris,

and there is the elaborate five page document from the teacher, countersigned by the principal. No doctrinaire statement is possible as to the right way to make referrals. Yet it is the writer's contention that the careful planning of referral procedures is one way in which the school psychologist, by a relatively small expenditure of effort, may have a far-reaching effect.

Criteria for Referral Forms

Few, if any, school systems large enough to have a school psychologist are at the same time so small that an oral referral, and nothing more, is likely to be efficient. Communication and human memory are simply not that good. The kind of written referral form that will prove most useful will vary with the size of the system, the sophistication of the teachers, the kinds of central records that are kept, and many other factors. Some of the criteria by which the psychologist may judge the adequacy of a referral form for his own purpose—and for the use of other school personnel—are as follows:

1. Does it give him a clear picture of the teacher's stated concern with the child being referred? Although stated reasons are not always true reasons, a referral form that makes it easy for the teacher to set down the picture of the problem, as she sees it, will help the psychologist gain some idea of the child's situation. It may also reveal the teacher's relationship with the child, and perhaps with other children.

2. Does it give him a clear picture of what the teacher hopes to gain from the psychologist's examination? This is a double-edged question. Asking what the teacher hopes to gain is a way of learning how the teacher perceives the psychologist's role. It is also a way of educating the teacher as to what one can learn from an examination, and thus making her more critical in her future referrals.

3. Does it give sufficient information—within reasonable limits—to enable the psychologist to decide fairly well ahead of time what test instruments he will need to use? This means such things as the child's age and grade placement, special abilities and disabilities. If the group intelligence and achievement test scores are readily available to the teacher, these might also be included—up

to a point. No teacher will enjoy being asked to write down all group test results and subject matter grades since school entrance for a junior high school student. Much of the information needed at this point can be requested through some sort of tabular form that makes responding relatively easy.

4. Does the referral form have an educational value for the teacher? Is it so planned that it will alert the teacher to certain aspects of the child's behavior that she should have been observing? Does it suggest to her that parent conferences and home visits are usually helpful when children present difficulties in school situations? Does it point out to her the wisdom of checking with others who know the child? A referral blank can hardly do all things, but it is possible so to slant it that the teacher will learn to make referrals more appropriately. This she does as she learns to consider various sources of information before requesting the psychologist to see a given child.

5. Does the referral form exclude information that could be more easily obtained from another source? If the child's cumulative folder is complete and easily available, it is pointless to ask the teacher to spend her valuable time copying out detailed information from it.

6. Is the referral form one that teachers are willing to use? The teachers' willingness will probably depend upon several things: a general format and statement of questions that make responding relatively simple; a form short enough not to be completely forbidding; some latitude for the teacher to express her own concerns; the teacher's understanding of the need for the information requested. It is possible to argue that a blank sheet of paper is the best referral form. Without going so far, however, one can provide adequate space for the teacher to express herself rather freely. When one looks at referral blanks that allow two narrow lines for "Teacher's reason for referring child," one can hardly be surprised when the teacher writes down "Behavior problem," "Slow learner," "Aggressive," or some such tag.

7. Are the items on the referral blank arranged so as to permit maximum ease in report writing, and do they permit efficient tabulation of data for research purposes? Generally speaking it is as easy to write down the information in one order as in another; the

sequence of items may make a major difference, however, in the ease of tabulation where one is concerned either with research or with such summaries of data as annual reports.

8. And last: do teachers have a clear idea of why a given referral form is being used? Often the best referral forms will be those that are worked out in conjunction with teachers. This almost in and of itself takes care of most of the criteria already suggested. At the very least, considerable effort should be made to interpret to teachers the reasons for the inclusion of the particular items appearing on the referral form.

Developing a Referral Form

The challenge to each school psychologist is to devise the best possible referral blank to enable him to function economically and effectively in his role of problem solver in the assessment of children. Once a good referral system is set up, it carries itself—for a period of time at least—and does not need reworking anew with every child referred. This is one of the reasons why a referral blank optimal for a given situation will enable the school psychologist to make himself more broadly useful.

One good way for the psychologist to begin is to examine referral blanks from other systems. White and Harris (1961) show several useful forms in their textbook. Some training programs for school psychologists collect referral blanks; some state psychological service bureaus do; one can always write for specimens. Another way to begin—and probably one that should precede the collecting of referral blanks—is working with the teachers who will use the form to decide on the information the blank should request. Once this is done, referral forms already in use can be helpful. They may suggest ideas for format and may serve as reminders on some items of information that have slipped by a teacher-psychologist planning group.

THE INDIVIDUAL PSYCHOLOGICAL EXAMINATION

It is obviously not within the scope of a book such as this to present any detailed consideration of the whys, wherefores, and hows

of individual examinations. Skill in individual appraisal must be arduously acquired through coursework and practicum experiences in examining youngsters. The individual psychological examination will continue to be a highly important approach for the school psychologist. Careful preparation in this area is imperative.

This section of the present chapter will concern itself with two general questions concerning individual psychological examinations: To what extent should the school psychologist occupy himself with giving individual psychological examinations? And how does he make the results of such examinations maximally useful?

Coping with the Magnitude of the Problem

Teachers find individual psychological examination highly appealing. It is hard for the teacher to stop making referrals once she gets started, should she get back helpful results. This, of course, is part of the picture of how increased services bring increased demand in the mental health professions. It is a fair argument that every child in school, bright or dull, happy or sad, under- or overachieving, would profit from a thorough-going high-level psychological examination. But this way madness lies, unless we can envisage a future in which half of the population will be needed to serve as psychologists for the other half. The school psychologist thus finds himself in a trap, because the better diagnostician he is, the more work he piles up for himself.

Selective Referral Procedures

In the section on referral blanks, it was suggested that a major function of a referral blank is educating teachers to make more appropriate referrals. As teachers learn what the psychologist can and cannot do, and as they gain some picture of a reasonable order of priorities for individual psychological examination, some of the pressure should be eased. Every school psychologist has learned that teachers in a given school system vary considerably in the use of referrals. Some may seem to wish to refer all children in their room; some none; some make highly appropriate referrals; some seem to pick children almost at random. One way for the school psychologist to make his function as a psychological examiner both more effective and at the same time less time-con-

suming is therefore to expend considerable effort educating teachers to make better use of a system of referrals.

Except in rare cases there is always going to be a referral list, and often a long one, for the psychologist. Some individuals, well-meaning but naive, feel the way to approach this problem is to work as hard as they can to clean up the referral list; then they will go on to perform other functions perhaps not so immediate but fully as important. But it does not work out this way. The person who continues to put the urgent before the important will forever find himself in the position of dealing with the immediate while the ultimately important is left unattended. The situation perpetuates itself; if one shows that he can deal with referrals promptly in all circumstances, he will be expected to do so in the future.

The paragraph above is not intended as a justification for ignoring the urgent. It is rather a plea to maintain a balance between that which is immediately needed and that which, while not necessarily of the moment, is of major importance in the long run. In-service training for teachers, serving on a committee to develop a community mental health center, conducting research on school problems—these are seldom urgent. They rarely give the immediate reward to the teacher—and the psychologist—received when an examination of a troubled child is made and appropriate remedial measures planned. This lack of immediate reinforcement for some activities of high significance in the long run is a major problem for the school psychologist. Solution is not easy; it probably lies in a firm role commitment, that looks to the long-term needs of the schools, and in the establishing of some order of priorities in scheduling the day's work.

Selective Choice of Test Instruments

Another way in which the psychologist may learn to cope with the problem is by a highly selective choice of testing instruments. Just as in a psychological Utopia every school child would have a detailed individual examination, so some individuals believe that every child to be examined should be given a complete range of individual intelligence, personality, and achievement measures. While waiting for the millennium, however, one will find that a

careful selection, and even radical cutting down, of testing instruments will yield a large amount of usable information. These data, while not complete, may still form a reasonable basis for recommendations and for action. This is one of the reasons why a referral procedure that gives a comprehensive presenting picture can be a major time-saver for the psychologist.

The Use of Test Technicians

We now come to a point on which we find vigorous disagreement among psychologists. This is the question of the giving of individual examinations, or parts of them, by persons other than highly trained psychologists. Psychology has fought a long, hard battle in the past to eliminate the giving of tests by persons unqualified to interpret adequately the responses of the person examined and his behavior in the total situation. The state certification of school psychologists has already been discussed as stemming largely from attempts to safeguard school children from the unqualified use of psychological examining tools. The post-World War II history of clinical psychology mirrors a struggle, and a highly successful one, to provide doctoral training as a minimum for adequate diagnostic work in psychology.

Such efforts to upgrade the quality of psychological examining have rendered the public a genuine service in the past. There is a question, however, as to whether what we are doing now is perhaps instead to render a disservice. Those who argue that we have leaned over too far backward base their arguments on two points.

The first is the question of whether, in our present state of psychological knowledge, we could not make some better allocation of examining functions among persons who vary in levels of training. When a profession first becomes self-consciously aware of its possibilities and its responsibilities to the public—and parenthetically let it be said, to its own status as a professional group—it is usually extremely cautious of the tools it uses. It thus tries to restrict their use only to individuals whom it can consider as having the most adequate training it can provide. This is probably an excellent thing as long as the operations by which a profession carries out its functions to the public are not clearly

specified. One is reminded of the often quoted statement from one of the participants at the Boulder conference on training in clinical psychology: "Psychotherapy is an undefined technique applied to unspecified problems with unpredictable outcome. For this technique we recommend rigorous training" (Raimy, 1950, p. 93).

As the operations employed by a profession are more clearly specified, however, it becomes possible to allocate these functions among persons with different kinds, and sometimes different amounts, of training. One is reminded of the use of laboratory technicians by physicians. The wide use of laboratory analysis for purposes of diagnosis in medicine is a growth of the last few decades, and reflects a stage of development in medicine in which it is possible to specify given techniques for arriving at certain information. Thyroid activity is gauged by a test of protein-bound iodine; the electrocardiogram registers the heart's activity; serum sodium level is used as an index of the water balance of the body. The physician must usually make interpretation of the specific laboratory findings; always he must make conclusions based on a synthesis of the laboratory reports and his personal contacts with the patient. The fact remains, however, that he has cut down enormously on the amount of time spent in diagnostic work, and at the same time has greatly improved his diagnostic efficiency.

Psychology is not so far along as medicine in this respect. Yet we may be approaching a stage where we can, in many situations, specify operations more clearly than in the past. Thus it may be possible for the psychologist to cut down considerably on the amount of time he must spend with a given child.

Let us take individual intelligence testing as a case in point. Is it really necessary in most instances for a person to have two to four years of graduate training to give a Binet? In the past few decades we have answered: yes. It is true that the highly trained psychologist does gain more, and sometimes a great deal more, from the individual intelligence test than a technician. On the other hand, a technician with proper training can probably in most cases turn in a usable report. The physician might learn more about the patient from doing his own laboratory analyses. The laboratory technician's reports, however, are usable and,

added to the physician's own observations, make diagnosis possible. Thus, one may argue that with many individual tests already in use by psychologists the technician's report, when added to the psychologist's observation, can form a useful basis for action.

If we project into the future, we may have an even better argument for the use of technically trained personnel. This argument lies in the development of testing instruments that would be more suitable for use by less highly trained individuals. Take the Binet, for example, or the WISC. There are certainly many parts of both tests that require no great level of competence to administer or to score; there are other parts which could be so rearranged and planned that administration and scoring could be simplified. To be sure, the problem is not so simple that each school psychologist can be his own rearranger, but it is a feasible enough project for test construction specialists who could check on the validity of such rearranged examinations. The same is probably true of many tests; careful planning in the future should create more such instruments that would prove useful in working with the individual, and at the same time would serve as laboratory reports for interpretation and synthesis by the psychologist.

Since World War II psychologists have experienced the somewhat giddy sensation of a professional status and power not theirs in former days. There has been an overwhelming demand for services in many areas of mental health. It is hard in such a circumstance not to feel Promethean—that psychologists indeed have stolen the sacred fire from Mount Olympus. But Prometheus stole the holy flame to bring benefit to mankind. Perhaps it is high time that psychologists stopped guarding jealously their sacred fire of esoteric techniques. Instead they might make meaningful attacks upon what a growing profession, and particularly a growing science of human behavior, can contribute to human welfare.

School psychologists can certainly not do this alone. They are, however, in a position to be peculiarly aware of the needs of wide segments of the population. They cannot close their eyes to public responsibility in the same fashion that psychiatrists and psychologists in private practice have sometimes been able to do. A school psychologist may be able to accomplish two things: one,

to make his own private attack on the problem of allocating functions in terms of the amount of training needed, and two—more importantly in the long run—to lend his professional weight to encouraging the development of techniques which will make a better use of manpower than seems true at present.

The use of test technicians, as of other kinds of technicians, always carries within it a seed of possible danger: the public may not make appropriate distinctions between the highly trained professional and the technician who performs important functions but does them under the continuing supervision of the professional. This possibility makes it essential that in developing ways to make more efficient use of technicians, we also set up methods of control to insure that such technicians work under the supervision of the appropriate professionals.

The Ultimate Criterion

An argument such as the one above is sometimes interpreted as meaning that the well-trained psychologist is “too good to give tests.” That is not the point. He is not too good to do anything that will be a truly productive use of his skills in furthering the aims of the schools. The question is one of the direction in which the maximum utilization of his knowledge and skills may lie.

In the final analysis the proof of the pudding, as far as the individual psychological examination goes, is in the difference the examination makes in the recommendations to be given for the child. The case is different, of course, when the examination is being used for research or didactic purposes. With these exceptions, however, one may think of the various questions raised here in relation to this final criterion. Unless the examination and the instruments used do truly make a difference in recommendations, one can gravely question the time and effort spent. This is obviously not an easy thing to know; results with respect to changes in the child and his situation are seldom immediate. Except as one keeps this in mind, however, and also follows the progress of the child in question, one can find oneself engaging in many activities that may be personally satisfying, or anxiety-reducing for some of the persons involved, but of little ultimate value.

SCHOOL AND COMMUNITY SURVEYS

Where school systems do not have research divisions—and only the large and financially favored will—the school psychologist may find it appropriate to participate in collecting certain survey data for the school and for his own department. To return again to Ryans' (1957) point, the major function of research divisions, where they do exist, is one of gathering data that bear directly upon the administrative functioning of the schools, nose-counts that enable school executives to do such things as project a budget, locate the appropriate site for a new school, work out transportation procedures for children, estimate the size and scope of special services needed.

Population Projections

In schools without research divisions, the school psychologist may be able to render a valuable service, if he has acquired some familiarity with appropriate procedures for projecting certain population changes. The most relevant is probably that for population projection in terms of the number of children to be expected in the school system at future dates. The problem is naturally not so simple that accurate projections will take care of providing sufficient classroom space and teachers for the mounting numbers of children so frequently found. In many parts of the country, and particularly in suburban areas, the picture is eternally one of too little, too late. Six classrooms are added to a school; the school board thinks this will take care of the problem at Washington School. Next year all the classrooms are filled; the year after, Washington School is again bursting at the seams. And so Lincoln School is built, and this should really solve the problem. But Lincoln School has only two vacant classrooms the first year; the next it is filled; the year after they are using the library and the health rooms to house classes.

Does this have to be an infinite regress? The weary school superintendent may answer, yes. A resistance to local taxes—the only kind one often feels one has any power to resist, antiquated

tax structures, mentalities geared to an economy of private rather than public affluence, all these make the superintendent's job a difficult one as he tries to persuade school board and community to keep pace with the population growth in the schools.

Certainly the school psychologist cannot go in like a knight on a white charger to rescue the fair maiden. The problem is deeply embedded in the whole structure of communities, even of states and the federal government, and in ways of thinking that will change slowly if ever. But education—and cold facts—do help. It is such cold facts that the school psychologist should be able to provide, if there is no research department in his system.

As an example, let us take what happened in a school system of approximately six thousand children. This was in a community that was expanding fairly rapidly, with new industries coming in, and with an army installation nearby. Children were hanging out of the windows of the schools; each year, the first grade group was bigger than anyone had thought possible. Obviously, new schools and additions to the old ones were urgently needed. The school administrative staff, however, was wisely concerned with the problem not merely of what to do for next September, but what to do for all the Septembers of the next decade.

The psychologist, because he was the closest approximation in the system to someone with the requisite skills in population projection, was asked to prepare a report for a joint meeting of all PTA groups in the city. This he did by beginning with the birth records through a period of years in the community, by estimating increases in accordance with the constant rate of growth, with a slight decline, and with an acceleration based upon estimates of community expansion and possible changes in the army installation. This may not be the most elegant and elaborate method of population projection, but it seemed adequate for his purposes. From this he went on to draw curves of the number of children expected in each grade over a ten-year period, in accordance with his three population projections. These curves were simple, even stark, easy for any layman to interpret. At the joint PTA meeting he presented this material on slides. These graphs made it abundantly clear to all persons at the meeting that even with a decline in population, there were still so many children of

preschool age in the community that the schools would be flooded when these youngsters reached age six. With a constant increase, and with the most probable curve of acceleration, the figures spoke for themselves; the psychologist needed to add no interpretation.

This story does not have a fairy tale ending, of course. Cold facts alone cannot take care of tax structures, or the screaming that comes when persons are pinched in that most vulnerable spot, the pocketbook. But the presentation did sober those who saw it. There was no longer any question as to the existence of the need. Many problems still remain before the children of this community are all adequately housed in classrooms for the next decade. But the community is at least armed with the knowledge of how much it needs.

Epidemiology

The field of public health has for many years used the term *epidemiology* to refer to a study of the pattern in which a disease is distributed in a population, the factors contributing to the pattern, and the possible ways of changing the pattern to eliminate or reduce the disorder. We think immediately of typhoid carriers, of draining swamps in relation to mosquito-borne diseases, of immunization. In recent years the term has come into use in relation to the occurrence of mental illness. In 1949 the Milbank Memorial Fund organized a conference of psychiatrists, epidemiologists, and sociologists to consider the epidemiological study of mental disorders. A year later the New York State Mental Health Commission set up a field unit for study of the epidemiology of mental disease (Gruenberg, 1954). Since epidemiology must in large measure form a basis for preventive approaches to disorder, interest in the general approach has grown apace among those who take a public health point of view toward mental illness and health.

The schools form a natural setting for an epidemiological approach to the prevention of personality disorders. Everyone goes to school, and goes at an age when prevention may be possible. The school psychologist, then, who is interested in prevention may well address himself to a study of the ways in which the various

difficulties experienced by children are distributed in his community. There are questions of social class, of section of the community, of family structure, of sex, of age, of given teachers and schools, of ethnic groups, of occupational groups, and of many other possible factors affecting the distribution of children's problems.

White and Harris (1961) have devoted several chapters of their book on the school psychologist to a consideration of topics closely bound up with epidemiology. Their Chapter VIII, "Surveys of Maladjustment in the Pupil Population," forms a detailed summary and review of research directed toward the detection of maladjustments in school children and the relation of these maladjustments to such community factors as have been suggested above. The treatment by White and Harris is highly recommended to the reader who wishes a thorough grounding in what is known at present about the distribution of maladjustments in school children and the factors relating to these difficulties. Material of this nature can be of major value to the psychologist embarking on an epidemiological study of his own school system and community.

A study of the mental health hazards encountered by the children of his community should probably form the basis for any school psychologist's attempt to work toward prevention. Unless he knows in what numbers, and in what places, difficulties arise, he will be unable to project with any degree of effectiveness his own work and that of any psychologist whom he may be supervising. It is apparent to anyone that school psychologists in Harlem face very different problems from those in Westchester County. But many differences are by no means so obvious. And the distribution of maladjustments shifts as the population shifts. As an illustration, with the continuing migration to the suburbs of the more prosperous inhabitants, central cities of large urban areas have found their school populations shifting. Many city areas that were once solidly lower middle class have become slum or at least "gray areas" in the space of a decade or two. And the troubles of slum children are not quite the same as those of Crestwood Heights.

Epidemiological data may be particularly valuable for preventive efforts. Such activities may run the gamut from setting

in motion civic efforts directed at recreational activities for children in unfavorable community settings to providing some measure of support and adult attention for an eight-year-old girl whose mother has been committed to a mental hospital.

One of the problems inherent in using preventive measures is the difficulty of any satisfactory evaluation of their adequacy. About the best we can do is make actuarial predictions. We know in a given community that a certain percentage of boys in an area bounded by four particular streets sooner or later become adjudicated juvenile delinquents. Suppose that this is 20 percent of the boys in the age group 12 to 18. True, this makes us turn a careful eye upon this section of town. But we know far less about the factors that interact in various ways with residence in this particular district. Eighty percent of the boys do not become delinquent. We can narrow down our search a bit, and find that the family structure is related, that the amount of crowding in the household is relevant, that income has a bearing. But again, we probably are not dealing with simple additive factors, so that we could subtract out the boys from the district who come from unbroken homes, those where there was no more than one person per room in the family house, and so on. For even though we subtract all these factors, some of the remaining children escape relatively unscathed. Individual prediction thus becomes extremely difficult. Perhaps all this means is that the school psychologist must approach the evaluation of his preventive techniques with considerable caution, that he can never be sure, except perhaps in actuarial terms, that the preventive work he is doing has any efficacy.

But only two other methods are possible. One is to work with manifest cases of maladjustment. And this forms a large portion of almost any school psychologist's load. As the sole approach to the problem it will never be successful, however, until that millennium in which school psychologists are in such adequate supply that we have one for every five hundred to a thousand children. The other method, accompanied by even less certainty than that of prevention, is working toward positive mental health. If we are not entirely clear about the factors contributing to mental disorder, we are even less certain about those contribut-

ing to personal well-being. Again we may deal with actuarial predictions, this time taking the other side of the coin. How about the 80 percent who did not become delinquent in the example given above? Just as there are mental health hazards in communities, so there are probably what we might call mental health bulwarks, situations that enable youngsters to develop healthy personalities instead of crippled ones, even in adverse environments.

What we need is perhaps an epidemiology of mental health, surveys of the pattern of distribution of positive functioning among children in a community, the factors associated with this patterning, and finally efforts to distribute more broadly in the school population those related factors that are subject to manipulation.

For instance, suppose we make the assumption that a positive self-concept—a picture of oneself as adequate and accepted—is basic to effective functioning and personal well-being. Our first problem is finding which children in the community have such positive concepts of self. This will be difficult indeed, but like “What song the Syrens sang, or what name Achilles assumed when he hid himself among women,” not beyond all conjecture. It is, for example, possible with the help of various studies that have attempted to measure self-esteem, reputation, and aspiration, to find some ways of assaying a positive concept of self.

Our next move, then, would be to study the patterning of the distribution. Such positive pictures of self may be more common in certain social classes, in some schools and in some classrooms, in one sex rather than the other, in children with parents with particular personality characteristics. Having discovered as best he can the factors relating to such patterning, the school psychologist's next question is what factors may be subjected to manipulation with some reasonable amount of effort. Change the parents, and you change the child, most observers would tell him. This is true, but it is hardly a feasible project on a wide scale for any psychologist, let alone the one who works in the schools.

But other factors may be simpler to manipulate. Suppose he discovers that the children in Miss Smith's first grade by and large see themselves as capable and well-liked. Those in Mrs. Jones'

room are much less likely to see themselves as able and as being valued by their teacher. He may not be able to remove Mrs. Jones permanently from the classroom, but he may be able to do one of several other things. Sometimes he can work with Mrs. Jones to give her a better understanding of the influence of her classroom behavior upon children. Sometimes he can talk with the principal and see if next year the children who are now in Mrs. Jones' room may be assigned to a teacher in whose classes the children are more apt to develop positive self-concepts.

As another approach, let us suppose that he finds that first grade girls have more positive concepts of self than first grade boys. That he will actually find this is strongly suggested by Helen Koch's study (1955) of differences in attitude toward school of six-year-old girls and boys. Then the problem becomes one of exploring the factors that seem to contribute to the girl's greater assurance. Her teacher is a female like herself; the girl is a little more advanced in motor development; early training and perhaps even inborn differences make conformity and docility in school a little easier for her. The moral of this tale is certainly not that one should train little boys to be like girls in the hope of making them happier in the first grade. It is not impossible, however, to think of ways in which first grade experiences might be altered. These ways might vary from contacts with male adults to expectancies more in harmony with one's level of motor development, so that boys might see themselves as more valued and more capable in their first year of school.

The school psychologist who embarks on a program of the epidemiology of positive mental health will not find many guidelines. But by taking the obverse of the coin presented in such writings as the chapters in White and Harris already cited, one may find suggestions for where to search for factors related to the distribution of positive well-being. That is, one may look in the opposite direction from those suggested—not where disorders occur, but where they do not occur. Caplan's *Prevention of Mental Disorders in Children* (1961) has several chapters that are relevant. Those, for example, by Lois Murphy, by Biber, and by Ojemann relate to positive mental health. The reprint series from the *Personnel and Guidance Journal*, *Basic Approaches to*

Mental Health in the Schools (American Personnel and Guidance Association, 1959), carries many suggestions on the manipulating of factors that appear to be related to positive functioning.

THE GROUP TESTING PROGRAM

School systems vary considerably in how the group testing program is handled; it may fall under the jurisdiction of guidance services, a research bureau, a department of supervision, or it may come under psychological services. Many school psychologists, when they move into a new situation, are relieved to find that the group testing is handled by another department. There is far too much to do anyway. Besides, many aspects of a group testing program can be handled by well-trained secretarial and clerical help. Surely it is just common sense to rule this out as a responsibility? The writer would like to argue the case, however, for the central involvement of the school psychologist in the group testing program of the school system. It is true that in many large school systems his involvement may be by way of establishing close working relations with the department which carries responsibility for testing. Either directly or through working with other personnel, however, the psychologist may find the group testing program one of his most effective means of extending his services to large numbers of children.

The Impact upon Children and Teachers

An earlier section made a plea for a new look at individual psychological examinations. It suggested that they should be viewed in terms of what must be handled by a highly trained psychologist and what could be handled by personnel with more limited training. Group tests came into being in an attempt to meet this need—to make it possible to test larger numbers of individuals and to do this with less skilled administrators. We should consider, then, the possibilities of a group testing program as a way of extending the psychologist's usefulness to a school system.

In most schools of any size today, every child in the school is tested upon group measures—and tested frequently, if we look

at his twelve years of schooling. Every teacher in the schools is involved to some extent in such programs. Thus, the group testing program may well be the one place where the school psychologist has the opportunity of reaching every child and every teacher. Once an optimal program for a given setting is in operation, it carries itself along until such time as needs for new information arise and as better tests are available. These matters should give the psychologist in the schools pause. He should not shrug off too lightly the job of group testing as appropriate to someone with less training than himself. More wisely, he might attempt to see what he could do to make a group testing program of maximal use for children, teachers, and the whole school system.

Everyone hears repeatedly how tests are administered, scored, and then allowed to gather dust. There is unfortunately an element of truth in this comment. It can and does happen. In other cases, nothing more is done than working up measures of central tendency for different classes and different schools; findings are interesting, sometimes reassuring, sometimes disturbing, but seldom of any practical help. Yet there are situations where the group testing program is used in ways that shed much light upon the functioning of individual children, of classrooms, of teachers, of schools, and of the whole school system. If the psychologist can help his school system use group tests with maximum effectiveness, he can demonstrate his usefulness to everyone in that system. This section will attempt to present some elements involved in setting up an optimal testing program for a given school system.

Some Functions Served by Group Testing Programs

First, let us take a look at the functions a group testing program should fill.

Within limits a group testing program can give a great deal of information about individual children—never enough in all cases to form bases for action, but enough to be highly useful in the majority of cases. This is particularly true as we move beyond the early elementary grades. The specific kind of information to be supplied will vary with the needs and concerns of the schools

and the teachers. The availability of valid tests is obviously another limiting factor.

Group test data can also be of major use for both intra- and interschool comparisons. They thus become useful in helping teachers evaluate their own performance in the areas tested, in adjusting their teaching methods to the various ability levels in their class, and the like. They are also helpful in making school-wide and systemwide comparisons of a similar nature.

The data collected in group testing programs often serve an important use in evaluating instructional and organizational changes in schools, and in studying some of the school or home correlates of test performance. They thus find a major use in *ad hoc* research.

The same data may prove useful for more basic research relating to the psychological development of children, both in terms of learning and in terms of mental health. For example, such data may form the basis for selecting treatment groups; they may, upon occasion, serve as criterion measures.

These four general uses of group testing programs are not mutually exclusive; ideally a group testing program would serve three or even four of these functions, if maximum value is to be received.

The Psychologist's Contribution

The psychologist's contribution can be a major one in certain aspects of a group testing program; in other aspects his contribution is either less necessary or better handled by other personnel. We will now examine the different phases of a testing program as they relate to the possible contribution of the psychologist.

THE PLANNING STAGE. One reason test results so often serve as dust catchers is that teachers and school executives neither need nor understand the results they get. This means that the crucial point for the psychologist to enter a group testing program is in the planning stage.

It is assumed in this argument that the psychologist in question has adequate training in measurement and statistics, and that he has or can acquire quickly a knowledge of available tests appro-

priate to use in a given circumstance. Some few schools have measurement specialists; generally this is not the case. In many situations the school psychologist will be the person with the most directly relevant training for selecting the appropriate test for a given purpose. This is one of his two major contributions at this point.

The other contribution at this time is in helping the persons who will use the results of the testing, the teachers and other school personnel, clarify their objectives as to what they hope to gain from the group testing program. It is sheerest folly to collect data that will go unused. In this way the psychologist, skilled in techniques of working with groups, should be in a position to help the group gain a better perspective on what it really wants. He should also be of major help in directing this planning to provide an over-all articulation of the program in relation to measures for different age levels.

The users should have every opportunity to examine in detail specimen sets of possible tests. Still, the psychologist should keep in mind that he will need to guide a teacher group through the welter of available tests. Teachers, like other lay people, are apt to be impressed most by face validity and by devices that promise an easy solution and interpretation of findings. It is a human weakness. Here the psychologist can bring his special training to bear in giving a more complete picture of the probable consequences of selecting this or that instrument. In this way he may help them arrive at the best compromise between what is desired in the way of test data and what valid data it is possible to obtain.

A word of caution might be said about the "package" testing programs promoted by many test publishers. Be the package ever so good, teachers should learn to question whether such pre-selected testing programs can meet the particular needs of their own school and the children within it.

The tools the psychologist will use in preparing himself to serve in this role are those that form part of the content of most measurement courses. General introductory texts, such as Cronbach's (1960) or Anastasi's (1961), usually can supply not only the relevant concepts concerning measurement in general but also

some guide as to directions in which to look for appropriate tests. Beyond this the most useful comprehensive sources are the *Mental Measurements Yearbooks* by Buros (1959). The carefully written reviews of the many tests included in the Buros *Yearbooks*, and the bibliographies following these reviews, form the definitive source for information on the general excellence and the appropriate use of a given test. *Tests in Print* (Buros, 1961) is a valuable adjunct to the *Mental Measurements Yearbooks*. Copies of the catalogs of test publishers and a file of specimen tests, complete with manuals of interpretation, also are important parts of the armamentarium of the school psychologist. Another important tool in this area is the pamphlet published by the American Psychological Association: *Technical Recommendations for Psychological Tests and Diagnostic Techniques* (1954). This should serve as guide to the adequacy with which a test has been standardized.

SETTING UP A PROGRAM. Once a committee designated for the task has performed the arduous task of selecting the test instruments for the program it wishes, the next step involves the mechanics of setting up a program. Tests must be ordered, supplies distributed, and schedules for testing set up. At the same time examiners must be selected, trained if necessary, and assigned. The first of these two tasks demands considerable attention to detail if the test program is to function smoothly—and even economically. Someone with good organizing ability needs to set it up the first time; from then on, an efficient secretary should be able to follow a pattern of procedure. The psychologist's training is really not needed at this point. Often, however, from the standpoint of over-all efficiency he may wish to center the mechanics of operation in his office, if there is sufficient clerical help.

The second task, that of selecting, training, and assigning examiners, is very much a problem for the psychologist. Upon occasion it may be appropriate for him to do the actual testing. For example, with an inexperienced first grade teacher, it might be wiser for him either to give the reading readiness test himself, or to assign some other experienced examiner to do the task. More usually, the actual testing will be done by others, frequently by

the classroom teachers. This practice has certain advantages, convenience perhaps being the major one, the teacher's attitude another. The disadvantages are apt to lie in possible irregularities in testing that may occur. On some closely timed tests, for example, a 30-second error in time limit may affect results considerably. Certainly, variations in giving directions, differences in inflection of voice, unauthorized interpolated remarks, prompting, and the like, can invalidate results. And teachers are prone to these errors, not through any innate depravity, but because of lack of belief—and often lack of proof—that such factors make a difference in test performance. The problem is ever present of possible bias because of the teacher's concern that her class make a respectable showing.

There is no easy answer to these problems. Careful training in administration, with explanation of the reasons for adhering exactly to instructions, may help. Demonstrations, not only of correct test administration, but of the results of faulty administration, can aid with the problem, and over a period of time eliminate much of it. These problems, however, do raise the question of using for certain tests and certain situations specially trained examiners who are not members of the teaching staff. This may be particularly important if results are to be used for research purposes or for comparing groups. Where the use is primarily for teaching purposes, it seems reasonable for teachers to administer the tests, provided they are willing and that competence can be developed. Administering tests over a public address system, with directions carefully standardized and pre-recorded, has been tried. Closed circuit television has also been used. Such techniques have promise. They do, however, need rigorous evaluation as to adequacy.

GIVING AND SCORING TESTS. The psychologist's role in administering the tests may be minimal, except as he has prepared for this stage, and as he may feel it necessary to supervise in particular instances.

Next the scoring. More and more, tests are provided with devices that simplify scoring. Certain testing services provide inexpensive and rapid scoring facilities, the more usual ones being the use of the IBM separate answer sheet that is electrically

scored, the IBM punch card, and the electric eye device developed at the State University of Iowa. The ease of scoring, or the availability of a scoring device, is one criterion by which tests should be selected. Catalogs and test manuals can supply this information. The psychologist's contribution at this stage will be either in the knowledge he can provide about scoring services or in his ability to set up efficient and accurate scoring routines.

Should teachers score the tests of their children? This is often done. Whether this is a good idea depends on the nature of the test and of the test response, and the purposes for which the teacher will use the results. If the teacher is regarded merely as a source of cheap labor, it is highly indefensible; teachers already have heavy demands upon them. On the other hand, where individual responses may have some diagnostic value—and this does occur with certain kinds of achievement tests—the teacher may actually prefer to do her own scoring. In this way she may gain a better picture of the manner in which the various children in her class are responding.

ANALYZING AND INTERPRETING RESULTS. The next step is the crucial one, that of translating the raw results of test scoring into meaningful form for the users of these findings. Along with the planning stage, this is the point at which the psychologist can be most helpful. If teachers have planned in terms of the outcomes they wish, part of the problem is already solved. This applies especially to the test validity. If teachers have been able, in the planning stage, to answer the question as to whether a given test does measure what they want to measure, then they can accept results within the validity of the measuring instrument. For instance, suppose teachers have learned beforehand the hard fact of life that there really are no paper-and-pencil personality tests to give them all the answers about what makes Johnny and his classmates tick. They can then interpret such tests within the limited framework that is appropriate. The same would certainly apply to other types of tests.

The question of test reliability is probably a more difficult one for the teacher, although it seems more transparent to the psychologist. It is hard to kill the conviction that Tom's IQ score on a group test of 116 means that he is brighter than Jane with

a score of 114. Anyone can plainly see that 116 is 2 points more than 114. One effective device is that employed in the SCAT (Cooperative Test Division, 1955-1957) and STEP (Cooperative Test Division, 1956-1958) tests, where scores are expressed in percentile bands that take into account the standard error of measurement. This avoids the fixing on a single numerical score as an ultimate picture. In any event, the problem is one of conveying to teachers the idea of a given score as representing a zone rather than a specific point on a continuum. In many school systems where psychological services are new, such instruction in test interpretation may be a valuable part of in-service training.

Most test batteries include profile sheets, in which the relative standing of the child being tested is shown for the various areas of the test battery. Although in general these are quite helpful, the school psychologist might be alert to better ways of presenting the data for those test profiles that tend to ignore the distribution of scores. Some profile sheets are constructed as if the distribution of scores were rectilinear. This may not be so bad when one is dealing with scores expressed by grade level. It may be highly misleading with aptitude and interest tests. A better form is usually one which assumes a more normal distribution, as for example the individual report form on the Differential Aptitude Tests (Bennett, Seashore & Wesman, 1959). If the test itself does not include some desirable form of presenting scores upon a battery graphically, it will generally repay the psychologist to expend considerable time and ingenuity on constructing such devices. Once developed, the work is done, and the profile sheets carry themselves automatically as long as the given batteries are used.

Another task that faces the psychologist at this stage in the testing program is the summarizing of data for classes, schools, and the school system. The actual working out of measures of central tendency and dispersion for all such groups is purely routine once the statistics to be used have been chosen and computation routines set up. Here two things become invaluable for the psychologist, or whoever has the task. One is the availability of computing equipment; hand calculation is laborious, expensive, and more open to error than machine calculation. If

the expenditure required for a statistical model of a first class calculator is more than a psychologist can justify for his office, he might explore the possibility of renting one on a monthly basis for the period of heavy use. The other invaluable aid is a secretary or clerical worker trained to perform the statistical operations needed to obtain the measures desired. If computation routines are well laid out, even high school students, if they are bright, can carry them through, and may delight in doing so. It is in the planning of the analysis and in the summary and interpretation that the psychologist has an important part.

PUTTING THE TESTS TO USE. Two other roles in the group testing program remain for the psychologist. One is working with individual teachers and groups of teachers to enable them better to interpret the scores of individual children and the over-all configurations of scores in their classrooms. Such instruction in interpreting the results of group testing may be one of the most effective ways of entering the in-service training program of a school system.

The other task at this time is one of providing the kinds of schoolwide and system summaries that may provide some basis for decisions on school practice and policy. Such summaries may be highly relevant to questions of curriculum change, promotion policies, redistricting of schools, and instructional methods—to use some of many possible examples.

Functions which on first thought seem routine may actually be rich in potential for contributing one's skill and knowledge to the optimal development of school children. The group testing program represents one such opportunity. The psychologist who is creative and flexible in his approach may find many occasions for applying his skill as a data-oriented problem solver to the on-going service demands of the psychological office through which he works. In this way, as well as in the field of research, the topic of the preceding chapter, he may make a basic contribution to the schools he serves and also more broadly to education and his own discipline of psychology.

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6

WORKING WITH AND THROUGH OTHERS: I. Counseling and Consultation

The last two chapters discussed the role of the school psychologist in the data-oriented process of problem-solving. This chapter and the two which follow will examine the other major role suggested for the school psychologist—that of a person who transfers psychological knowledge, skills, and understandings to others. This mode of functioning ranges all the way from individual counseling to serving as a consultant for a curriculum group. It extends from giving in-service courses for teachers to training a secretary for taking over the more routine aspects of one's office job. Its central focus is the psychologist's attempt to make himself more broadly useful through such extending of his professional knowledge and skills to others.

A WAY OUT OF THE MORASS

Some new direction is necessary if the school psychologist is to find a way out of the swamp of immediate needs that grow up around a department of psychological services. A case in point

is the Nassau County survey of the opinions of school executives as to the adequacy of their psychological services (Salten *et al.*, 1956). Here, in an area richly supplied with school psychologists as compared with the rest of the country, the superintendents with the most services were the ones who felt the greatest need for additional work. This is indeed a compliment to the quality of their psychological staff. Yet it is an infinite regress. The more they have, the more they want, and so on and on, until presumably a sort of millennium would be reached in which every man—and child—would have his own psychologist.

The chance for the country at large to have a ratio of even 1 highly trained psychologist to every 2,000 school children—a much less favorable ratio than that in Nassau County—is as remote as a new Ice Age. Fresh approaches to making the school psychologist more broadly effective must be used. But here the school psychologist faces a basic paradox as he attempts to make himself more broadly useful in his school system. He presumably is interested in helping persons change in understanding and behavior. People change in interpersonal situations where they are concerned with and work upon problems crucial to themselves. There may be other ways to promote such change, but interpersonal contact seems the most likely one. And so the question becomes one of how to work largely through interpersonal contacts in immediate situations and, at the same time, spread oneself broadly in terms of influence.

Certainly there is no real answer to the problem. There are, however, some halfway measures. We might start with the premise that there are enough people, and there is enough money, in the country to make such interpersonal contacts possible. What is lacking, and will be lacking, is a sufficient number of professionally trained people. If the psychologist can work through nonprofessionals and through less technically trained persons he may go a long way toward solving the problem.

In the schools, this means that teachers and school executives will be his central focus of concern. It also means that he will seek within the community many other persons who can, in some capacity or other, contribute to the educational, social, and personal development of school children.

This also means that the school psychologist will plan his strategy in working with individuals—children, teachers, or community persons—in terms of where he is most apt to make a contribution within some reasonable length of time. With children this suggests, among other things, that given a choice he would concern himself with very young children in the schools rather than older ones. He would work more toward prevention and the early identification of learning and behavioral difficulties than toward remediation. Where he must choose with which teachers to work, he would think in terms of the newest and most inexperienced teachers in a group, and those most open to new ideas.

However, the school psychologist who embarks upon such a path of serving largely as a conveyor of knowledge and skills to others will often find himself open to criticism from colleagues. He is oversimplifying; he is encouraging persons to perform activities for which they are not adequately trained; he is permitting a superficial approach to problems of great depth; he is setting psychology back a hundred years in its public status.

In the words of Sportin' Life in *Porgy and Bess*, however, "It ain't necessarily so." Fillmore Sanford, in the already mentioned "The Good Profession" (1951), suggests that one major criterion of goodness for a profession would be the maximal availability of appropriate knowledge to the public. Certainly there are areas of psychology that today are far too complex to convey adequately to persons untrained psychologically. There may be many other areas of knowledge or skill in psychology that with help could easily be assimilated by lay people. Gardner Murphy (1953) has an amusing fable of how every one became a Rorschach expert one fine day in the future. Individuals were promised via their television sets a free Rorschach interpretation if they could make a sentence out of the scrambled words: Suds Scrubbo Makes. In a short time, with many protocols analyzed and interpreted over the air waves, every man became his own Rorschacher. Heresy? Perhaps. Without going so far, however, as to teach projectives to teen-agers, or to encourage every teacher to be a psychologist in her classroom, the psychologist can still enable other individuals to work more effectively with children.

Some of the techniques the psychologist might use in attempting to impart his knowledge and skill to others will be direct teaching activities; some will be in interpersonal contacts of a psychotherapeutic and consultative nature. This chapter will discuss counseling and consultation, and the two following chapters will be concerned with teaching functions and with utilization of community persons and situations.

COUNSELING AND PSYCHOTHERAPY

The Case For and Against Extensive Psychotherapy

Should the school psychologist engage in counseling and psychotherapy? This was one of the hottest arguments at the Thayer Conference (Cutts, 1955, pp. 46-50), and one upon which differences of opinion remained at the end of the ten-day meeting. Just prior to the conference, in a survey of school psychologists, respondents were asked to rank a list of functions in order of importance on their job. Psychotherapy was not on the list, but was written in by 48 of the 560 respondents. The respondents were also asked to rank a list of courses they considered essential for training school psychologists. Psychotherapy was fifth, preceded only by child psychology, tests and measurements, individual mental testing and "clinical psychology." On the surface we can see controversy. Part of this is a definition of terms. Many who feel extensive psychotherapy highly inappropriate believe short-term counseling to be a desirable function. There is a vast difference between maintaining a psychotherapeutic attitude in contacts with children and teachers, and in engaging in actual psychotherapy. There are questions of treading too much on the toes of clinical psychologists and psychiatrists. There is the issue of what functions must be given up if the psychologist is to embark upon the time-consuming course of carrying even half a dozen cases in psychotherapy.

The manpower situation is the most cogent argument against engaging in psychotherapy. There are few school systems blessed with sufficient personnel and other auxiliary services for psychotherapy to be feasible as an activity for its psychologists. For

most schools, it will be an extremely expensive luxury bought at the sacrifice of other activities with broader impact upon the schools. This is particularly true of activities directed toward prevention and early identification of difficulties.

Yet the school psychologist may expect to make major use of his training in psychotherapy, if not always directly. Most important is the development of a psychotherapeutic attitude that can be pervasive in his interpersonal contacts. All psychologists will face crisis situations with a disturbed youngster or teacher in which some knowledge of and practice in psychotherapy is essential as a kind of first aid to the injured. Psychotherapy also serves as the groundwork for consultation activities, which promise to be among the most useful functions for school psychologists. Many psychologists may find that carrying one or two cases in psychotherapy serves to keep them sensitized to human needs and motivations. Where several psychologists are employed in a system, one such psychologist, well trained in clinical techniques, might appropriately carry several cases for demonstration purposes.

School psychologists feel many pressures, internal and external, towards engaging in intensive counseling. Psychotherapy is perceived as a top-level function in clinical psychology, and so by translation in school psychology. It is thus a way of enhancing both the self and one's professional status. Another persuasive factor is the reinforcement that the psychologist receives from his child client. School psychologists tend to be nurturant people. It is difficult to turn away from urgent calls for help. The reinforcement from a child's getting better before one's eyes is more immediate—and often more gratifying—than the carrying out of research. Such research may effect the well-being of many children, but it does so far in the future.

In addition, the school psychologist may feel a responsibility as the only available person capable of providing the psychotherapeutic help needed. There is no answer to this problem, really. One can only help so many. One must have clearly sorted out his values ahead of time, together with the scheme of priorities he places upon them. Certainly, one avenue is open for the school psychologist, the promotion of mental health facilities in

his community. This again is only a partial solution; there are too few mental health centers and too many names on waiting lists. But it is one way of discharging, in part at least, a responsibility for making psychotherapeutic services available.

Short-Term Counseling

Short-term counseling may be a different story. One could question again how often this should be done, as even short-term counseling may not affect very many people. There are occasions, however, in which three or four sessions with a youngster in some sort of situational crisis may help not only that child but others with whom he comes in contact. The death of a parent, for example, may be deeply disruptive to a child and those around him, and yet the child may be able to work through his feelings in a relatively short time. Short-term counseling may also be a helpful technique in working with individual children and adolescents who are functioning satisfactorily from the standpoint of the school and of society but who themselves feel, often correctly, that they need additional insight in attacking their problems and in making major decisions.

An illustration follows of short-term counseling with a little girl experiencing a not unusual crisis in her family life.

An Illustration of Short-Term Counseling: "What's So Special about a Boy?"

Karen was a second grader, a somewhat washed-out but fairly pretty blonde child, small for her age and a little immature socially, although competent enough intellectually. Mrs. Morrison, her teacher, asked the school psychologist, Jean Miller, when she ran into her one day, to take a look at Karen since something seemed to have gone wrong with her lately. She had always been anxious for the teacher's good opinion, but lately she had been unusually clinging, and had developed some nervous habits, chewing on pencils, and pulling her hair. Her school work had declined in quality, and she seemed listless.

Jean's first move was to visit the classroom and see Karen for herself. Her visit pretty much confirmed the teacher's observations. Jean also checked to find any possible changes in the child's

situation lately, any illness, any stresses in her family situation. What Jean turned up seemed to point rather clearly to the origins of Karen's behavior. Karen was seven, the youngest of three girls, the other two being eleven and fourteen years of age. A month ago a new baby had been born, this time a boy. It took no great stretches of imagination to guess what had been going on this past month at home and in the neighborhood. The long-awaited son, the radiant parents, the displaced baby girl, all fitted into the picture of Karen's unhappiness and anxiety.

With Jean's encouragement, Mrs. Morrison visited the home, a pleasant small house on a street of similar homes. The mother was pleased to see Karen's teacher and glad to talk about how the child was getting along. She also babbled along happily about the new baby and how all the girls loved him. "You should just see what a regular little mother Karen has become. . . . Everyone just loves the baby; he is so cute and sweet, and he looks just like his father. . . . He's so strong for a baby we know he's going to be an athlete when he grows up."

Jean was not surprised when Mrs. Morrison reported what she had observed at the child's home; it was about what she had suspected. It certainly pointed to the need to work a bit with the mother to help her see a little better the impact of the new baby upon Karen. Jean felt that here was a situation where a little chance for Karen to explore her own feelings, her anxieties, trepidations, and hostilities, might be of real help to the child. Karen's situation did not appear so severe, as Jean studied it more carefully, that she needed extensive psychotherapy. It was possible, however, that a few interviews might enable the child to cope better with the situation—particularly if the parents could be helped to gain some insight into what was happening to Karen.

And so Jean set up an appointment for Karen, and saw her for a half dozen interviews in the small office annex she sometimes used for play sessions with young children.

During the first interview Karen seemed timid, a little withdrawn, very polite. Jean noticed the child often watched her covertly; she was a bit wary. Karen explored the playroom in a somewhat desultory way; she lingered a bit over the doll house;

she examined it with more care than the other objects in the room, but did not play with it. Presently she sat down on the edge of the sandbox and poured sand from one container to another, then began to pile the sand up in one corner of the box. She then wandered around the room again, picking up an object here and there but letting it go shortly. Occasionally she spoke to Jean, mostly just flat comments on the objects in the room, the ones that were like things she had at home or at school, and so on. She asked if it was time to go home. This first interview could hardly be called a striking success, but Jean felt that at least Karen seemed slightly more relaxed and somewhat less cautious as the hour wore on.

When Karen came in a week later she was a little more talkative. She told Jean some things that had happened in school that day; she talked about her teacher, Mrs. Morrison, whom she seemed to admire. She decided to paint a picture. It turned out to be a rather conventional product, a house, a green line for grass, and a sun overhead. Once the picture was done she rambled around the room, stopping longest at the doll house. She picked the dolls up, examined them carefully, bent their legs so that they could sit in chairs, but made no effort to carry out any particular dramatic play with them. While she was examining the baby doll she told Jean that she had a new baby brother; "He's little and cute, and everybody loves him." Jean noticed Karen's eyes glued on hers as she made the statement. Jean wanted to say something to the effect that everyone told Karen that she ought to love the baby, even if sometimes she wished the family didn't have him, but she held her peace, as Karen seemed so hesitant.

On Karen's third interview, as soon as she had greeted Jean, she went over to the doll house and began examining the house and its occupants in some detail. She looked at the girl dolls, of which there were two, and at the boy doll. Karen bent the boy doll's legs and sat him in a chair. She straightened him out again and looked up at Jean, "What's so special about a boy?" Jean took a chance, and replied that it did seem that everybody carried on so over baby boys and thought they were so special. She was afraid that Karen would close up again and change the

subject, but she did not. She began placing the dolls in various rooms in the house—giving the boy doll the inferior placement, Jean noticed. She seemed to be talking almost inaudibly to herself as she played—Jean could catch only an occasional word; it appeared to be on the theme of how girls were every bit as good as boys. Once she arranged all the dolls (except the baby) around the dining room table. She then moved them around in the house in rather conventional poses. Presently she drifted off to the easel and began painting again, a picture rather like the time before but this time she added a mother and baby. As the hour drew to a close Jean asked Karen if she wanted to come in the next week. Karen responded with some warmth that she did.

On the fourth interview Karen seemed more relaxed. She went over to the doll house immediately and began to arrange its occupants about the house. She placed the parent dolls and the two girl dolls around the dining room table. The boy doll she stuck in the closet. She looked up at Jean and smiled. Jean smiled back and said something to the effect that it was fun to get rid of the boy. Karen's smile broadened. She picked up the baby doll; then dropped him on the floor of the doll house. Jean remarked that it would be fun to get rid of the baby too. Karen picked up the baby doll and put its head in the toilet. Jean wondered aloud if Karen wanted to give baby doll a hard time too. Karen replied that she was going to flush him down the toilet. Jean commented that Karen really would like to get rid of that baby doll forever. She went on to say that she could understand how Karen felt that way, that new babies sometimes seemed to spoil things and take up their parents' time. Jean felt she was taking a chance, but Karen seemed so open that day that she dared to say this. Karen looked up and smiled but did not speak. She continued to play with the doll house for a few minutes. She became more aggressive—in a mild way—and pounded the boy doll and the baby with a chair. "I'll fix them good." Her anger presently spent itself. She came over, leaned her head against Jean's arm for a moment, then turned and went to the easel. She spent the rest of the interview painting—again somewhat conventional and unimaginative houses, trees, three little girls (no mother or baby this time). When asked, as the

hour closed, if she wanted to come back next week, she responded eagerly that she would.

The next week, Karen came in with a smile on her face. She ran over to Jean, almost hugged her, then backed off and made for the doll house. Her play of the previous week was repeated. This time she became even more aggressive with the boy and baby dolls, tossing them up in the air, throwing them into the sandpile. Jean responded, much as before, to Karen's need to express her anger and dismay with the general reaction of adults to the superior worth and charm of a boy baby. Presently, Karen's anger subsided. She came over and asked Jean if she could sit in her lap. She crawled up, cuddled down, and sighed. Jean held her there for a time, and Karen began to talk of her need to be loved, her fear her parents didn't like her any more now that they had a new baby. They expected her to take care of herself now and to help with the baby. It was hard on her, she wasn't much more than a baby herself. Jean responded as best she could to the child's feelings and assured her that it was natural to feel that way. The hour was almost up. Jean felt that Karen had had sufficient opportunity to explore her feelings about the birth of the new baby so that with Mrs. Morrison's help at school, and more attention from her parents, she would weather this rather normal crisis situation with no ill effects. She asked Karen, however, if she would like to come back for one more regular appointment. Karen happily replied that she would, and a final meeting was set up.

Jean saw Karen once more for a regular session. She also spent some time with Mrs. Morrison, who was understanding and sympathetic. Since Mrs. Morrison had established a good relationship with Karen's mother, and since she had considerable insight into the situation, the two decided that Mrs. Morrison might be the one to talk with the mother. This she did.

Karen did not through her play sessions become a changed child. Reports from home and school, however, did indicate that she was more relaxed, more open in her expression of feelings. It was going to take some time for her to work out her new role as one of the girls instead of the baby of the family, but she seemed on her way.

Psychotherapy with Teachers

School psychologists sometimes raise the question of engaging in psychotherapy with the teachers in their school system. Some teachers undoubtedly need psychotherapy; they are human and subject to the usual human stresses, plus the additional ones involved in teaching. All the arguments against extended psychotherapy apply here, plus an additional one. The school psychologist is a member of the school staff; he is in frequent contact with teachers. This continual face-to-face relationship in other roles is apt to make psychotherapy more difficult. More importantly, it may jeopardize other important roles for the school psychologist in relation to teachers, those of consultation and training. His most appropriate way of handling teachers' needs for psychotherapy will probably be through finding and making use of referral sources. Again, this is not an adequate solution; psychotherapists are in short supply, but in this situation it is perhaps taking a poor solution rather than an impossible one.

As in most areas of human behavior there are no easy answers to the problem of psychotherapy and counseling for the school psychologist. The needs of the schools, and the other skills that a well-trained school psychologist should have, argue against any major segment of time being spent in this activity. There is no question, however, but that the attitudes and general understandings learned through courses in psychotherapy are basic to many of the activities of the school psychologist.

In addition, school psychologists will find that in many settings there are other trained personnel whose help may be enlisted for such short-term counseling with children in relatively mild difficulties. Thus, the psychologist may be able to work with a school social worker or with a school counselor on such cases. The psychologist's role might well be one of consultation and supervision of the person doing the actual counseling.

Skill in counseling and the development of a psychotherapeutic attitude must be acquired, by and large, through didactic courses and practicum experiences in graduate training. All this chapter has done so far is to look at some of the reasons why, important

as the area is, its direct use should be only a limited part of the school psychologist's functioning. Since there will be many indirect uses, however, for the psychologist working in the schools, he should have a thorough grounding in the techniques of counseling and psychotherapy. And he needs practice in the adaptation of such techniques to the consultative and training roles he may often play in his work in the schools.

THE CONSULTATION ROLE

Consultation, when broadly interpreted, is one of the major roles of the school psychologist today. It should be an even larger role in the future. Yet unfortunately there is little available published material that treats this topic directly in relation to the school psychologist's functioning; there is little direct teaching or practicum experience in consultation current in training programs for school psychologists. There has been a little more in social psychology, in clinical psychology with a community mental health slant, and in social work. Even here, the literature is scant, and much must be done by extrapolation from studies of the counseling process and of group dynamics. Because of its central importance to the psychologist in the schools, and because of the paucity of literature, this section will explore the process in some detail.

The Nature and Purpose of Consultation

First for a definition. Just as everyone in the schools is a problem solver, so practically everyone is, at some time or the other, a consultant. Everyone is sought out upon occasion for advice or opinion. To be more formal, however, we can approach this by the aid of two recent definitions in the literature. The first of these is a definition of one kind of consultation—that with one individual on matters relating to mental health.

Mental health consultation is an interaction process or interpersonal relationship that takes place between two professional workers, the consultant and the consultee, in which one worker, the consultant, attempts to assist the other worker, the consultee, solve a mental health problem of a client or clients within the framework

of the consultee's usual professional functioning. The process of consultation depends upon the communication of knowledge, skills, and attitudes through the relationship, and therefore, is dependent upon the degree of emotional and intellectual involvement of the two workers. A secondary goal of this process is one of education, so that the consultee can learn to handle similar cases in the future in a more effective fashion, and thus enhance his professional skills (Bindman, 1959).

This definition seems highly applicable to much of the work that a school psychologist might find profitable with teachers. His primary aim will be one of helping the teacher, *qua* teacher, deal more effectively with the problems that are her reasons for seeking consultation help.

The school psychologist, however, often finds himself in a position in which the focus of concern is not that of a single consultee but of a group. Lippitt (1959), for example, in writing of consultation with groups, lists the following distinguishing characteristics of consultation.

1. The consultation relationship is a voluntary relationship between
2. a professional helper (consultant) and help-needing system (client)
3. in which the consultant is attempting to give help to the client in the solving of some current or potential problem,
4. and the relationship is perceived as temporary by both parties.
5. Also, the consultant is an "outsider," i.e., is not a part of any hierarchical power system in which the client is located.

The school psychologist, for example, will find himself called upon to apply his special knowledge and skills to group situations. A test selection committee, for example, is almost certain to call in the school psychologist as a consultant. Again, a curriculum committee may request his help, on the basis of his knowledge of human development, in determining the sequence of experiences in the curriculum.

Both sorts of consultation, however, have much in common. In both cases, the focus of consultation is some problem of the consultee, not the consultee's own personal functioning. The process is initiated by the consultee. Both definitions suggest that

consultation may be distinguished from a teaching function, although the educational implications of a successfully completed consultation episode are obvious. Any individual or group has its potentials for constructive change and also its restraints, as Lewin (1947) pointed out some years ago. The consultant's task is to help in reducing the restraints and in freeing the growth potential of the consultee, be it a person or a group.

The ultimate purpose of consultation, then, is to release the growth potential of the individual or group with whom one is working so that the person or group can successfully master the present problem and go on to more effective ways of coping with problems of the future. This aim may well challenge the highest level of skill and ingenuity possessed by the psychologist. Ideally he should have didactic training and considerable practicum experience before going out into a situation where he will be expected to function as a consultant. Up to now, however, this has not been a part of the training of most school psychologists except as it has been partially acquired through courses in counseling, group psychotherapy, interviewing techniques, and group dynamics. It would seem quite feasible, however, to provide experiences by way of summer institutes, workshops on consultation, and such experiences as the Human Relations Workshops of the National Training Laboratories.

The School Psychologist's Special Role

CONSTRAINTS AND OPPORTUNITIES. As a consultant to individual teachers, or to groups within the schools, the school psychologist has certain disadvantages and also certain advantages. The definitions of Bindman and Lippitt imply that the effective consultant is an "outsider." The association can be perceived as temporary; there is no authority relationship between consultant and consultee. The relationship is one the consultee can terminate at any point. This may mean that the school psychologist will be effective as a consultant where he can be perceived strictly as a staff person without line authority, and where he is careful not to take upon himself any authority other than that generated by his particular competencies. A possible disadvantage is that the school psychologist does continue to be around, and the consultee

will perhaps feel less free with someone that he will meet in his daily rounds. Neither of these possible limitations is too stringent. Administratively, the school psychologist is usually placed in a staff position, typically as part of a special service or pupil personnel division, sometimes directly responsible to the superintendent. Normally he has no line authority whatsoever, except that which may be related directly to the psychological services staff. Should the school psychologist become an administrator—for example, director of the division of pupil personnel—his effectiveness as a consultant may be limited by the aura of authority surrounding his position. The other possible disadvantage—that the school psychologist is a permanent member of the school system—would seem to be one that works for good as well as ill.

The first major task a consultant faces with an individual or an organization is that of establishing a relationship with the consultee. This relationship, to be productive, must be based upon an understanding of the values and goals of the consultee; it must go on to a grasp of the restraints inherent in the situation and of the potentials for growth. The schools represent a highly complex social system. There are numerous restraints: role prescriptions and limitations, pressures from the public as taxpayers and parents, defensiveness engendered by the treatment of education in the public press. A person who lives with the situation day in and day out, but who is seen as without any vested authority, may have an enormous advantage. He may be able to come to grips far more quickly than an outsider with the limitations and potentials of a particular situation or of a given individual. This acceptance is certainly not ready-made, but it can be built up through one situation after another, if the school psychologist shows himself as effective in a consultant relationship. Such a small thing, for example, as being able to draw cogent illustrations from the experiences of the consultee may be a determining factor in acceptance. A teacher once said to the writer, "No school psychologist will last a minute in our system if he doesn't know who Dick and Jane are." (For the benefit of the uninitiated, Dick and Jane are the leading characters in one widely adopted set of primary readers.) The teacher had a point; one cannot be constructive in complete ignorance of the setting.

In general, the school psychologist as consultant may be called upon to play two roles: one, that of the specialist with knowledge of psychology; the other, that of a person with interpersonal skills in aiding an individual or group clarify its own goals and decide among means for reaching these goals.

ROLE AS PSYCHOLOGICAL EXPERT. Let us first consider the specialist or psychological expert. This can be a most seductive role. School staffs tend to revere the individual with high-level specialized training. Because of the great demand for action in the schools—35 children that the teacher must meet and handle the next morning—teachers are (in George Meredith's phrase) "hot for certainty." They want an answer that they can put into immediate use—exactly what to do with Sally Smithers tomorrow morning. It is easy to yield to this sort of pressure, and remarkably simple to pose as an authority when one has every encouragement. This is similar to the occupational hazard the physician faces when he realizes that he can, at least temporarily, make most patients happy with a bottle of bright-colored pills to be taken three times daily. One should perhaps remember the rest of the couplet from Meredith's sonnet:

Ah, what a dusty answer gets the soul
When hot for certainties in this our life!

The dusty answer is the almost inevitable result of a ready-made solution imposed from outside. If one takes as a criterion of success in consultation the freeing of restraints and the liberation of potential for growth, the ready-made answer is sterile and dusty indeed.

In consultation, knowledge of a field must always be used through relating it to the goals, values, and present concerns of the individual or group with whom the consultant is working. This does not mean that the consultee, any more than the customer, is always right. A school psychologist, may, for example, have been asked by a school administrator to help with a problem of morale among his teachers. It may soon become apparent that the bulk of the difficulty stems from the executive himself; the school psychologist may differ from him completely in his assessment of the problem. The task then becomes one of inter-

pretation and encouragement toward self-appraisal. This point has been well made by Glidewell (1959) in a discussion of consultation in conflict.

Usually, however, the consultation activities of the psychologist as specialist will not be of this conflictual nature; there is much sharing of common goals and purposes within school systems and education in general. His task is more likely to be one of posing alternatives and of helping the consultee to see the probable relation of a given course of action to his or their goals.

ROLE AS SPECIALIST IN INTERPERSONAL SKILLS. There is a broad area of overlap between the consultant role as a specialist in psychological knowledge and the role as a specialist in interpersonal skills. The mental health consultation that Bindman describes is of the latter kind. In many ways it is close to individual counseling and psychotherapy in the sense that it is concerned with the covert as well as the acknowledged motivations of the individual and it places stress upon interpersonal change. Its chief difference is its focus on the problem, usually another individual or group, with whom the consultee must deal, and its emphasis upon helping the individual to solve the problem in his usual professional role. Thus, the psychologist working with an individual teacher, who has consulted him about an apparently disturbed and withdrawn child in her class, will be concerned with the teacher's own needs as they relate to the youngster about whom she is worrying. He will be concerned with supporting the teacher in her attempts to work more productively with the child. He will attempt to help the teacher cope with her share of the problem in her role as classroom teacher.

CONSULTING WITH INDIVIDUALS

Individual consultation, when successful, is almost the twin brother of psychotherapy. There are, however, certain differences. Bindman (1959) suggests three: (1) the focus is not upon the consultee's problems, but upon what Caplan calls the client, the individual or group about whom the consultee is concerned; (2) the consultant does not interpret directly the consultee's be-

havior, as he might in psychotherapy, although he may attempt to interpret the client's behavior to the consultee; (3) an attempt is made to handle a segmental problem rather than the whole range of problems with which psychotherapy may be concerned. Both in successful psychotherapy and in mental health consultation of the sort Bindman describes, emotional re-education will occur. The difference will be in the scope and depth, consultation being neither so deep nor so intense.

Three General Types of Consultation

Bindman (1959), following Caplan (1956), suggests that mental health consultation can be divided into three general types. Each of these seems germane to the work of the school psychologist.

CASE INSIGHT CONSULTATION. The first is case insight consultation. An example of a school situation might be one in which the teacher is concerned about a child's behavior but does not know how to handle it. Here the consultant's role will be one primarily of interpreting the child's behavior to the teacher in terms of the teacher's own understanding and professional background. As Bindman suggests, one of the best ways to further this goal is through a method of joint observation of the child. In this way the psychologist and the teacher can discuss their perceptions of the child in a nonthreatening fashion. The teacher thus can acquire both new knowledge and new insight into the child's behavior. These gains she can use in her interactions with the child. Thus, by changing her own behavior, she can reduce the disturbing behavior of the child.

ACTION-HELP CONSULTATION. A second form of consultation is that of action-help. This would occur in the schools when the teacher—or school executive—lacks the skills or facilities needed to work with a given child or situation. A case in point might be that of a child with a particular learning disability, such as a severe reading problem, which the teacher is unable to handle. Here the consultant's job is twofold. One is to find help and to make it acceptable to the teacher; the other is to support the teacher in her plea for help and to clarify for her the particular actions needed in the situation. Much of the referral work of the

school psychologist might well fall under this general type of consultation. The teacher asks for action. Here is a child who seems mentally retarded. She hasn't been able to teach him; something must be done. And so he is referred to the psychologist. He is tested. He is not mentally retarded, at least not to a degree to make him eligible for special class placement, although he is definitely a slow learner. In consultation with the teacher the psychologist, as he discusses the situation with her, can enable the teacher to look more critically for signs of mental retardation and thus to make more efficient referrals in the future. He can also help the teacher set up more realistic goals for this child and for herself in relation to him. The psychologist can help her become more flexible in her approach to teaching such youngsters when she finds them in her classroom. Sometimes major help comes from just the mutual recognition that she does indeed have a problem on her hands, one for which she need not blame herself.

CRISIS CONSULTATION. The final sort of consultation discussed by these writers is that done in crisis situations. This would occur when a teacher herself becomes disturbed because of a disturbing situation with a child. A crisis with the child may have set one off in the teacher. Of course the opposite is possible, where the child did not develop a crisis until the one in his teacher triggered it off. In any event, the teacher's relationship with the youngster becomes sufficiently a distortion and projection of her own past difficulties for her to be unable to function effectively as a teacher with this child. The primary aim of such consultation, according to Caplan, should be one of: "Improving the educators' use of the self in the professional context, so their personality strengths may be more effectively mobilized for the mental health of their pupils, and so that their unsolved emotional problems may not interfere with the utilization of their existing professional knowledge and skill" (1956, p. 77). How to do this is something else again. Caplan (1959) suggests two major techniques, once a relationship is established. The first he calls segmental tension reduction, in which the consultant focuses on the child's crisis, rather than dealing with the teacher's crisis.

Since the two crises are linked, this does lead to tension reduction on the part of the teacher. And if she reduces her tension, some tension reduction in the child is likely.

A second technique Caplan calls dissipation of the stereotype. Here the aim is to enable the teacher to focus upon the realistic aspects of the child's behavior, rather than the fantasy-bred, stereotyped perceptions that characterize the teacher's own crisis. As in case insight consultation, joint observation may be a way of bringing the teacher to a more reality-based appraisal of the child and the crisis. This will tend to reduce the tensions of the teacher and consequently those of the child.

A possibility that must be kept in mind in crisis consultation, is that the crisis may have arisen out of a severe personality disturbance of the child. As the psychologist acquaints himself with the situation and observes, where possible, the interactions of the child and teacher, he can judge whether the action-help type of consultation is called for. In other words, there is the possibility that the teacher's perceptions were reality-based, after all. No other professional person has such a background of observation of normal child behavior as does the teacher. For this reason she is often in the best position to be alerted to extremely deviant behavior. Deviant behavior that triggers off deep-seated problems of the teacher, however, can well precipitate a crisis situation. The school psychologist's problem is to help sort out, and help the teacher sort out, the reality-based from the fantasied and stereotyped in her perceptions of the child.

An Illustration of Individual Consultation: "What Can You Do with a Child Like That?"

On Helen Marks' desk there appeared one day a referral blank from Mrs. Robinson, fifth grade teacher. It dealt with a twelve-year-old boy, Tommy Bones, who had been transferred into the system three weeks ago. Tommy was the eldest child of a family of itinerant workers who had moved into town a month ago. There were no test scores on the child and no formal records of previous schooling. Mrs. Robinson was reasonably sure the child was mentally retarded. Somehow he had slipped into her room without the usual testing of newcomers; she thought he belonged

in a special class for the educable mentally retarded. The referral was marked urgent.

Since Mrs. Robinson seemed upset by the whole situation, Helen made a point of stopping by her school and talking over the matter with her the next day. Mrs. Robinson was vehement about the boy: he was stupid, ignorant, dirty, and even foul-mouthed—when he spoke, which was not often. As Helen observed in the classroom, it was evident that Tommy was certainly different from the neat, well-behaved, and polite children in Mrs. Robinson's room. Mrs. Robinson had a reputation for being a strict disciplinarian, not only as far as school work was concerned but in terms of dress and manners. Helen knew that parents felt differently about Mrs. Robinson. Some thought she had been the making of their children; others felt that she had been their undoing.

Although Helen had been in the school system two years, this was the first referral she had ever received from Mrs. Robinson, who apparently prided herself on being able to master her own problems. Even here it was readily apparent that all Mrs. Robinson wanted was confirmation of her own judgment and a speedy removal of the child from her classroom.

Helen tried to get the picture as best she could from Mrs. Robinson; all was in the vein of the complete impossibility of the youngster. Mrs. Robinson knew nothing of the home situation except that they were migrant workers, and that there were four children younger than Tommy, including a baby.

Since more information was obviously needed, Helen saw that the youngster was given the group intelligence test and the achievement test used in the fifth grade of the school system. Tommy had an IQ on the intelligence test of 80; his grade placement on the achievement test varied from third grade, in reading, to sixth, in arithmetic. Because there seemed a suggestion of reading retardation, Tommy was also given the WISC. Here his IQ was 85, with the performance score ten points higher than the verbal score.

Since Tommy was twelve, and rather undersized for his years, fifth grade placement seemed appropriate enough. It looked as if Mrs. Robinson were going to be stuck with the boy. Helen

suspected, rightly, that Mrs. Robinson would be unhappy and even indignant over the findings of the testing. She would be unwilling to fit Tommy into the situation. Helen offered to talk with her about the special problems of slow learning children such as Tommy, particularly when there was a history of irregular schooling. Mrs. Robinson sniffed; she had had fifteen years of teaching experience in one of the best sections of the town. She had had slow children before, but never one so beyond the pale as Tommy. "What," she said, "can you do with a child like that?"

Helen decided that this was her exit line and acted accordingly, but repeated her offer to help, which was again not accepted.

A month went by. In the meantime Helen had contacted the school social worker and asked her to look into the home situation and to find out what she could learn of the child's past. What she discovered was about what would be expected: a marginal family, poor housing, poor nutrition, a fretful mother, a drunken father, and whining children. What the social worker could learn—between the mother's complaints about Tommy who should be at home helping out—indicated that Tommy's school behavior reflected his home all too well, in lack of cleanliness, in language, and in general apathy. Actually, in view of the home situation, Tommy might be seen as adjusting to a middle class school environment better than one would expect.

Mrs. Robinson was not on much better terms with the social worker than with Helen; again she prided herself on having children in her room who didn't need social casework. The social worker did report her findings to Mrs. Robinson. Later she told Helen that Mrs. Robinson's attitude seemed to be mostly one of "So there; this just goes to show what an impossible child Tommy is."

At this point, in mid-winter now, Tommy became ill for three weeks. While he was out of school, Helen happened into Mrs. Robinson's classroom one afternoon. She came ostensibly to observe a youngster whose older brother had run into some kind of difficulty. But she also wished to make herself available to Mrs. Robinson for help on the situation with Tommy. Mrs. Rob-

inson commented to Helen that her class was a different place now that Tommy was out. Helen lingered behind after the children left, and engaged Mrs. Robinson in talk about Tommy. Particularly she was interested in the disruptive effect that Tommy had upon the classroom. When Mrs. Robinson examined it, she could really mention only two effects: the snickering that went on sometimes when Tommy let drop one of his gutter-learned terms, and the way the children got impatient with his poor performance when he had to read anything to the class. This came as a bit of a surprise to Helen, and even more to Mrs. Robinson. When she couched it in terms of its effect upon the class, Mrs. Robinson seemed for the first time to admit to herself that Tommy's behavior wasn't really very disruptive after all. For some reason—maybe because Tommy had been out for a couple of weeks—Mrs. Robinson seemed much more relaxed and willing to talk with Helen than she had before. Helen asked her if she had noticed any positive things about Tommy that might serve as something to build on in helping him toward better class acceptance and performance. At first, Mrs. Robinson couldn't think of anything; finally she did remember one positive thing about Tommy: he was good at some practical problems in arithmetic. Somewhere or other he had picked up information about different kinds of weights and measures, and could deal with them. Also, after some thought, it seemed to her that Tommy's language had toned down a bit; he seemed to hesitate now a bit before coming out with some of his more colorful terms.

Helen asked if Mrs. Robinson had ever been in Tommy's home. Out came an indignant "No." A little exploring indicated that Mrs. Robinson was uncomfortable about visiting such a place. Her town had always prided itself on being without slums, and Mrs. Robinson had never been in a home of the sort that she imagined Tommy lived in. Rather hesitantly, Helen suggested that she had been anxious to get a better picture of the kind of homes that youngsters like Tommy came from, and would be glad to go along with her. Mrs. Robinson thanked her, and said she would see about it. Helen decided she had best let matters rest there.

Two weeks went by, and Tommy was back in school. Helen

again came by, this time at the coffee break and asked Mrs. Robinson casually if Tommy was back, and how he was getting along. Mrs. Robinson replied that he seemed sick still and was very apathetic. She surprised Helen by saying, "You know, I think maybe I ought to see his home and talk to his mother; that child isn't well."

So Helen went along with Mrs. Robinson and they both saw what the social worker had already seen. To Mrs. Robinson, it was at first a confirmation of her fears, but—as she became a little more comfortable with Tommy's mother—also a revelation of the constraints under which Tommy lived. She didn't say much to Helen as they drove back but seemed sobered by the experience and less sure of herself than was her usual mien.

A week later, she called up Helen and told her that she would like to come by Helen's office after school and talk about Tommy. Helen was of course pleased; she had hoped all along that Mrs. Robinson would finally come to face up to the situation. Mrs. Robinson did come and they started to talk about Tommy, the difficulties he created, and then the problems the child himself had. As the hour went on Mrs. Robinson began to talk about her own feelings concerning children like Tommy. She felt a down-right revulsion to dirty, smelly children. Tommy represented everything she had been taught to avoid as a child, everything she tried to eliminate in her own daughter and in the children she taught. She had always thought such children were just like little animals. But now she wondered. Tommy had some good points. He responded to praise and approval as the other children did. It was harder to make him respond to disapproval, but now his actions seemed more bravado than indifference. Helen let Mrs. Robinson go on exploring her own feelings about Tommy and her assessment of Tommy's potential. An hour went by. Helen offered to talk further with her if Mrs. Robinson wished it. Mrs. Robinson suggested that they talk again in the coming week.

Actually, Mrs. Robinson came back to see Helen two more times about Tommy. On these two occasions they explored the changes that seemed to be occurring in Tommy—and he did seem to be changing as Mrs. Robinson became more relaxed with him—and possible ways of building on Tommy's real abilities to

enable him to perform adequately in school. After the two interviews Mrs. Robinson appeared to be satisfied that she could handle her problems with Tommy. Helen was inclined to agree. At least Mrs. Robinson now had a much reasonable basis on which to deal with her relationship with Tommy, and probably with other children who shared Tommy's meager background. She could not write *finished* on her consultation with Mrs. Robinson but she could at least write *well begun*.

CONSULTING WITH GROUPS

Consulting with groups has much in common with consulting with individuals. It does present additional difficulties, however, in the greater complexity resulting from the different personalities of the various persons involved in a group, the power structure, and the general social interactions of the group. In school consultation there will probably be another difference. Typically the focus in consultation with individual teachers will be on some child with whom the teacher is concerned. In consulting with a group of school personnel the focus is usually not so specific; there will be problems of a more general sort, of curriculum perhaps, of classroom climate, or of developing methods of evaluation. The generality of these problems often means that the help of the school psychologist is sought somewhat more as a specialist in psychological knowledge than as one who can be of help in problems of a more direct interpersonal nature. In other words, his contribution is somewhat more likely to be content-oriented—or at least to be so perceived by the group—than it is process-oriented.

This role of the school psychologist has, from the point of view of technique, much in common with the role of the instructional supervisor, as this role is now viewed by many persons who are specialists in curriculum and instruction. More and more, the instructional supervisor is being presented in textbooks on supervision as a consultant to teachers rather than as an actual supervisor. An illustration is the widely used textbook by Burton and Brueckner (1955). There are, however, differences. Where a specialist in some field of knowledge is needed, the instructional

supervisor and the psychologist obviously will be called upon for help in their own distinct areas. Another difference will probably be in the general technique of consultation. The psychologist's background will tend to make him approach the situation with more concern for the interpersonal relationships involved.

The communality in the consultation activities of instructional supervisor and school psychologist suggests that some kind of team consultation, involving both of them, and other staff personnel as well, may be the most effective way to approach certain broad school problems. For example, where a curriculum committee has the task of setting up a new social science course of study for the first three grades, one can see a ready place for a psychologist, an instructional supervisor, and perhaps others. The psychologist's contribution will lie in a knowledge of human development at these grade levels and a knowledge of human learning; the supervisor's contribution will lie in a broad knowledge of curriculum and a wide grasp of instructional methods. Together they may help a group develop a sounder course of study than could either alone, or the group without either consultant.

Embarking on the Role of Consultant to a School Group

Here we need to examine more closely the role of the psychologist as consultant to a school group. Usual groups will be teachers, other administrative and special staff, parents, school and community organizations, such as the PTA, and civic groups with special educational concerns. Lippitt (1959), in an analysis of the dimensions of the consultant's job, has posed a series of problems or questions that face the consultant embarking upon such a relationship. A review of these, with some special applications to school situations, may shed light upon the job of the consultant with school groups.

IDENTIFYING THE PROBLEM. The first question concerns the nature of the difficulty, its source, and the reasons for its continuance. Lippitt suggests several possible hypotheses, as the group and the consultant attempt to answer this question:

1. Power distributed inappropriately, too diffuse or too central.
In a school system, for example, the centralization of all

power in the superintendent may be the source of problems; similarly, difficulty may be created by a distribution of power so vague that no one knows to whom to appeal.

2. The immobilizing and blocking of productive energy. Where the teachers resist or obstruct the productive ideas of the executives, or vice versa, we have a potential source of trouble.
3. Failure of communication from one subpart of the system to another. Many difficulties originate in situations where the school executives cannot communicate with the teachers; the primary teachers cannot communicate with the upper elementary, the junior high with the senior high, and so on.
4. Incongruence between external reality and the situation perceived by the client. Where the principal is perceived, for instance, as a villain, while the teachers are paragons of all the virtues—or the reverse—the situation is ripe for conflict.
5. A lack of clearness in goals and a commitment to action toward these goals. Everybody wants his school to be a “good” one, but members of a group may differ greatly on what “good” is, or on how to reach this goal.
6. A lack of skills for making decisions and taking action. Some well-intentioned groups seem to flounder interminably, hoping for someone to emerge strong enough to tell them what they should do and then how to do it.

As Lippitt points out, these do not exhaust the possibilities, but they may serve as a guide for directions in which to look as one searches for the difficulty. They may shed some light on the kind of help that should be provided for the group. Finally, they may give some direction as to how to assess possible improvement in the group. Suppose that a school psychologist has been asked for help by a group of teachers who are dissatisfied with the amount of voice they have in setting the policies of their school system. Entering the situation, the school psychologist tries to collect information that will lead him to select or else to reject the possible sources of difficulty Lippitt suggests. Further suppose, in the course of this information gathering, that he finds that communication between the administrative staff and the teachers is extremely limited. This he can use as an op-

erating hypothesis as he tries to interpret the source of the difficulty to the group, as he attempts to help toward decisions as to the action needed, and ultimately as he assesses improvement through observing the amount of increase in communication between teachers and the administrative staff.

ASSESSING ONE'S OWN MOTIVATION. Lippitt's second major question for the consultant is: "What are my motives as a consultant for becoming involved in this helping relationship? What are the bases of my desire to promote change?" This is the difficult problem of awareness of one's own values and needs as one approaches a consultant-consultee relationship. Should one deliberately make oneself an agent for change and if so, in what direction? Should one take the initiative in such a relationship, or should one wait always for the consultee group to initiate the request for help? These are not easy questions to answer. The psychologist in the schools is likely to see many situations in which he may feel, with some basis, that his skills and knowledge could contribute to the solving of problems troubling the group. Should he intervene, should he indicate his availability, or stay out of the situation entirely? Can he be sure that the light he thinks is within him is not darkness instead? Is he just feeding his own self-esteem rather than trying to be helpful? How distorted are his own views of the situation? How much congruence is there between his picture of the "good" school for children and the teacher's views? No one can answer these questions for another. Yet for each psychologist in the schools, there is a compelling need to examine his own values and to reach some answer for himself.

POTENTIALS FOR AND AGAINST CHANGE. "What seem to be the present, or potential, motivations of the client toward change and against change?" Let us return to the situation of the teachers who wished more voice in school policies, and where the possible trouble lay in the lack of communication in the school system. Are the teachers, and the administrators, really willing to exert the effort, and devise some means to make such communication easier? For example, few teachers have a clear picture of the enormous demands on the time of the school superintendent. They may understandably, if unfairly, resent the difficulty

of getting to him directly. This situation calls for more effort and the development of some new devices and techniques on both sides. Do the teachers really want a voice in policies enough to work toward developing better communication techniques, or is this just so much beefing?

THE CONSULTANT'S OWN RESOURCES. The fourth question: "What are my resources, as a consultant, for giving the kind of help that seems to be needed now, or that may develop?" Psychologists tend to enjoy a high status with school staffs; this means that they are often called upon for an amount of help and a variety of skills they simply do not possess. As a school system becomes better acquainted with the competencies and limitations of its psychologists, and particularly as the psychologist continually interprets to the schools what he can and cannot do, this particular question becomes less of a problem. It can be a crucial one, however, for the psychologist new to a system. Much misapplied effort and some ill-will can be traced to the failure to answer this question before embarking on a consultant relationship with a school group.

THE PROBLEM OF ENTRY. The fifth question is that of the preliminary steps of action needed in exploring and setting up a consulting relationship. This is the question of what is called "entry" by Glidewell (1959), who examines in some detail the problems involved in a new person's attaching himself to an already existing social system. The school psychologist, in a sense a permanent consultant to a school system rather than a one-shot helper, does not face this problem as much as the outside consultant does. On the other hand, each new group within even a familiar school system has its unique qualities, its interpersonal network, its growth potentials, its emerging power structure. For this reason, the psychologist needs to concern himself with developing knowledge of the particular group, as a group, and to be critically aware of the role he will either assume or have thrust upon him as he enters into a new consultant relationship.

GUIDING AND ADJUSTING TO THE CHANGE PROCESS. Lippitt's two final questions relate to the process and the outcome of the consulting relationship. The sixth question is: "How do I as consultant guide, and adapt to, the different phases of the process of

changing?" On the basis of a study of a population of consultants, Lippitt, Watson, and Wesley (1958) have identified seven phases in a consultant relationship with a group. The significance of these steps lies in the fact that different skills may be demanded in different phases, and that different behaviors and shifts of goals may be expected in the consultee group as it progresses through the phases. The authors list these steps in the following manner:

1. The development of a need for change;
2. The establishment of a consulting relationship;
3. The clarification of the client problem;
4. The examination of alternative solutions and goals;
5. The transformation of intentions into actual change efforts;
6. The generalization and stabilization of a new level of functioning or group structure;
7. Achieving a terminal relationship with the consultant and a continuity of change-ability (pp. 129-143)

Returning to our example of the teachers who wished a voice in school policy, we might trace a consultant situation through the seven steps in this wise: (1) The teachers become dissatisfied with their lack of voice in school policy. (2) They ask the psychologist to help them; he agrees, explains to what extent he can and cannot be helpful, and they start meeting. (3) With his help they find out that the real trouble appears to be that they have no avenue of communication with the superintendent they care to use; they are worn out with trying to go through channels; they seem to have very little feedback from the superintendent. (4) They try to work out ways through which they can communicate more freely with the administration, ways that will be feasible from the standpoint of the superintendent's and the other administrators' time. They also try to work out ways to persuade the superintendent to interpret more openly the policy decisions of the administration. The psychologist's particular contribution here is to help the teachers see more clearly the pressures and restraints experienced by the administrative staff. They hit upon a method of small group meetings with the staff of a given school—twenty or so teachers—and the superintendent, meetings which

would serve to air matters of mutual concern. (5) They try this method out. At first it does not work too well; they are defensive, and so is the superintendent. They almost give up. The psychologist helps them to interpret the causes of their lack of success; he helps them develop ideas for topics that will create less defensiveness on the part of the superintendent, and about which they can be more objective themselves. He suggests they use these as a beginning. (6) They try this for some time. It is by no means perfect, but they at least feel they have been able to reach the ear of the superintendent, that he has seriously tried to give them a better picture of what is behind the administration's decisions. This reduces the tensions all around, although it may not result in much more voice in policy making, at least immediately. They have hope for the future, however, and resolve to try this small meeting technique again when communication seems to be breaking down with any other subgroup with whom they are concerned. (7) The school psychologist bows out at this point. But as a quasi-permanent consultant, the group will probably still depend upon him to some extent for continued help where they strike snags in this particular situation. One of his problems will be that of weaning them as much as possible, while keeping the door open for other problems on which they may wish to consult him.

PROVIDING CONTINUITY. Lippitt's last question for the consultant to ask himself is: "How do I help promote a continuity of creative changeability?" In other words, how do I help people learn to help themselves? In group as well as individual consultation, the most successful consultant is the one who works himself out of a job. There is no one formula for this. The problem is solved by whatever reduces the restraints of the situation in which the problem is occurring and at the same time releases the potential for growth. Sometimes this may be support; sometimes it may be interpretation; sometimes it may be the provision of specific knowledge; probably most often it is help in developing and carrying through to completion a way of problem solving. To the extent that an individual or group learns new and productive methods of attack upon the problem they face, to that extent the consultant may consider himself a success.

The Special Status of the School Psychologist as Consultant

We might turn now to the question of what characteristics distinguish the school psychologist's functioning as consultant, and school people as consultees, from consultation by other persons in other settings. One such characteristic is the general orientation of the schools. The point has already been made, when comparing schools to industry, that the criteria of success in schools are much more diffuse and less easily identified than the usual industrial ones of productivity. Goals are unclarified or even intangible. Since such goals touch upon the deepest values of human beings, there is often disagreement concerning them among school staff members. Another characteristic is the general concern of the schools with positive functioning—vague as the concept may be. This means that the psychologist may be sought as consultant to a group less for trouble-shooting than for help toward greater positive accomplishment on the part of school staff and children. Yet another difference springs from the fact that the school psychologist is a more or less permanently available consultant. Thus, he may be called upon more freely. And thus also, he may be taken less seriously than an outsider who comes in as an expert for a sizable fee.

Consultation is not an entirely new role for school psychologists, if we take a broad look at much of the work that is done day in and day out by many people in the field. What is new, however, is a critical awareness of the nature of the consultation process as it might apply in school situations and of the means by which this process may be successfully carried out in school systems. The study of the consultation process in schools and conscious efforts at developing skills in this activity, although new, shows signs of growth. The Division of Mental Hygiene of the Massachusetts Department of Mental Health began in 1952 to develop a program of mental health consultation in the schools (Naegle, 1956). Although they have been concerned with the provision of this consultation through community mental health centers, much of their writing and activities relate closely to the work of the school psychologist. The St. Louis County Health Department has also had a major interest in mental health con-

sultation (Mensh *et al.*, 1959). Hollister (1959), mental health consultant in education for the National Institute of Mental Health, in listing six major trends he observed in mental health programming for the classroom, ranked the increased use of the consultation process with teachers first in order of significance. It is new, but it is in the air. We may expect that school psychologists will in the future see consultation as an increasing part of their potential contribution, not only in mental health but in other areas, such as human learning, in which psychological knowledge impinges upon the schools.

This chapter has treated consultation as a process different from training. Actually they overlap; writers, such as Lippitt (1959), believe the most effective consultant is often the consultant-trainer. The next chapter will go on to consider the psychologist's role as trainer. We can then bring back together these two artificially divided functions. Another piece of unfinished business is that of the ethical problems inherent in the consultation process, where one either self-consciously or without awareness makes himself an agent for change. Since there are many other ethical issues that pose particular problems for the school psychologist, these will be brought together at a later time for separate treatment. And this we shall do in a subsequent chapter.

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7

WORKING WITH AND THROUGH OTHERS: II. The Psychologist as Teacher

This chapter begins with a paradox. It is the familiar one that has faced us all through the book as we look at ways of helping others toward more productive functioning. Human beings change in behavior and in attitudes largely through interpersonal contacts. Yet the manpower situation dictates that the school psychologist cannot spend an adequate amount of time with those in whom he most hopes to effect change, children in the schools. The only hope of resolving the paradox is to devise ways of working with others that in time will lead to those person-to-person contacts with children that may bring about desired changes.

In practical terms this means the school psychologist diffuses his knowledge and skills as broadly as is possible; he directs his strategy toward those who do have such personal interactions with children: always teachers and the other school staff, sometimes parents, often persons and groups within the community.

In essence, the school psychologist is often a teacher. And as

a teacher he must consider his particular responsibilities and opportunities. Some of these spring from the current rapidity of scientific and technological advance. To return to the first chapter, this suggests a whole new approach to education, substituting, in Margaret Mead's (1959) terms, lateral transmission of knowledge for our time-honored vertical method. Once we progress beyond some generally-agreed-upon fundamentals of communication, numbers, and the like, many aspects of education might profitably be focused on transmitting knowledge and skills from the informed to the uninformed, when and wherever it may be needed. Only the foolhardy would venture to predict today the knowledge and skills most in demand even one decade hence. We might wisely direct our attention, then, to making it possible for knowledge and skills, as they are developed in any discipline, to be transmitted as soon as possible to those who can make appropriate use of them.

In applying psychological information to school practice, the psychologist working in the schools has an advantage and a responsibility. His advantage as teacher is that of being on the spot where demands for psychological knowledge are real and immediate. Learning can be close to the concerns of those with whom he might be working. But the proliferation of knowledge in psychology places upon the psychologist a major burden to convey as best he can to those he teaches the most soundly based knowledge available at any given time.

WORKING WITH TEACHERS

Usually, and appropriately, the psychologist in the schools will have as his chief training role that of working with teachers on those aspects of their jobs with psychological overtones—or fundamentals. From the point of view of manpower, this suggests certain strategies for the psychologist. He must consider with whom he is most likely to effect change. Changeability can be assessed. For instance, there is evidence that the rigid authoritarian personality is far less open to change than the flexible and nonauthoritarian (Adorno *et al.*, 1950). It is the all-too-usual situation, alas, of those who most need the help being the least able

to respond to it. But no school psychologist will ever have world enough and time for what he wishes to accomplish. It is thus only elementary wisdom to direct his attention first to those areas in which his efforts are most likely to bear fruit.

Another point of strategy might be that of searching for those teachers most influential in setting the mental health and learning patterns of their children. For instance, where the choice is between working with a group of primary teachers and a group of upper elementary ones, the primary teachers—other things being equal—would be the more productive choice. Again, in terms of changeability, the teacher's length of service is relevant. A new teacher feels pressures and demands upon which she urgently needs help; she has many years of teaching experience before her. Aiding her will have far more effect upon children than helping one less receptive to change and with few remaining years of service. There is also the issue of the power structure and the prestige enjoyed by certain groups. If the teachers of one school in a system are regarded as the leaders and pace-makers, work with this school will spill over into others. Every situation and every school system will have its own elements of strategy; maximum effectiveness will come only from a careful assessment of where the greatest growth potential lies.

In-service Training

Special educational provision for teachers in service has become a major operation in the schools. Today the majority of school systems will have periods before and after the school year, and also during it, that are devoted to training activities on various aspects of the teacher's job. Specialists on the school staff will be called upon to participate in in-service training. And the school psychologist, as one of these, will find that many areas appropriate for such training are germane to his interests and competencies.

The National Society for the Study of Education devoted Part I of its fifty-sixth yearbook (1957) to the topic of in-service education. In an overview of the field today, Glenn Hass (1957) lists what he considers typical in-service needs of teachers, principals and supervisors. These are:

1. Maintenance of familiarity with new knowledge and subject matter;
2. Human growth and learning;
3. Improved knowledge of teaching methods;
4. Increased skill in providing for the individual differences among pupils;
5. Improved attitudes and skills involved in cooperative action research;
6. Skill in utilizing community resources and in working with adults;
7. How to learn a new job (for beginning teachers);
8. The development and refinement of common values and goals;
9. The building of professionalism and high morale.

A glance at these is sufficient to indicate that at least half of them are topics upon which the psychologist might be expected to have something to contribute from his own discipline. Indeed, the second and fifth are among his most important areas of specialization as a school psychologist.

It is probably easy enough for the psychologist in the schools to gain a captive audience of teachers. A captive audience provides him with an opportunity; it also carries elements of danger. The only really effective method of capture for learning purposes is probably that of choice. When teachers have a voice in selecting topics for training, when they see the possible gains accruing to them from such activities, and especially when learning experiences are built closely around their needs and desires, in-service training can be productive.

Educational circles are well aware of the need for immediacy in planning in-service training. Thus it is generally set up around some people's ideas—usually a committee of teachers—of what is current and choice for the group. Like anyone else teaching in an in-service program, the psychologist's task will be that of planning his teaching so as to take the fullest advantage of the concerns of the group and the potentials of the situation for learning. A good illustration of a program of this nature is one originated by Daniel Prescott and his group at the University of Maryland. Their method, developed over a number of years, tries to capitalize on the special concerns of individual teachers, as it works toward an enlightened understanding of child development. Each

teacher picks a particular child in whom she is interested. By intensive study—and through working toward greater acquaintance with the child's total situation over a period of months and even years—she learns more fully techniques of observation and child study. These, it is hoped, will generalize to work with other children. This program has been described in detail in *The Child in the Educative Process* (Prescott, 1957). Brandt and Perkins (1956) have written a monograph summarizing research on the program. Evidence points to substantial changes in teacher behavior following participation in such experiences.

Interestingly enough, many teachers who participate in programs of this sort, and who apparently receive benefit from them, have been exposed in their college days to much of the general content presented in such child study courses. This is true also of much material the school psychologist might wish to use for in-service work with teachers. What makes such a procedure effective, however, in a way that college education courses seldom were, is the immediacy of the situation and the step-by-step application to the children and the daily occurrences of the teacher's own classroom. The term "felt need" has been used in education almost *ad nauseam*. Yet like other overworked terms, it has meaning and application. Teachers, like other human beings, will learn where they have a need to learn. It is a challenge to anyone who would teach teachers, as they go about their daily rounds, to begin with the teacher's immediate concerns and then to lead on to broader considerations that in the future may have a far-reaching impact upon their classrooms and their pupils.

TRAINING IN HUMAN DEVELOPMENT. The whole field of human development provides an obvious area in which the psychologist might work with teachers. The child-study approach of Prescott's group has already been mentioned. There are also possibilities related to some of the special demands and adjustment needs of particular age groupings. For example, some valuable topics for kindergarten and first grade teachers would be such things as the role transition (Klein & Ross, 1958) made necessary by a child's first entrance to school, the socialization process (Stendler & Young, 1950, 1951) involved in the primary grades, and the differential situations for girls and boys at this time (Koch, 1955). The

young first grade teacher who sees daily before her eyes the operation of this socialization process in Bobby Nash and Suzv Brown finds meaning in such interpretations that she never could in her didactic courses while still in college. In a similar fashion the junior high school teacher can make use of the considerable body of information on the relation of early or late physical maturing to social adjustment, and its differential effect in boys and girls. If such teachers went to college in the last decade they probably were exposed to the Berkeley Institute of Child Welfare findings on this topic (Jones, H. E., 1943; Jones, M. C., & Bayley, 1950). But it becomes freshly meaningful as they relate it to the behavior of the physically immature boy in the eighth grade who becomes the classroom clown, or the physically advanced one who is the classroom leader.

TRAINING IN MENTAL HEALTH. The field of mental health has a broad overlap with that of human development. Here again there is a great deal of information that can be related directly to the classroom experiences of the teacher. But here there is also the delicate problem of the emotional loading of much material on mental health, and the observed relationship between the teacher's mental health and that of her pupils, again highly loaded. A teaching situation sharing certain of the techniques and aims of group counseling may be desirable. Moustakas (1959), for example, has described the Human Relations Seminar at the Merrill Palmer School, which follows such an approach. This is a full year course, for which credit is given, and which meets three hours a week over the year. The aim of the seminar is stated as: "To help the individual teacher express and explore the values, meanings, and dynamics of personal and professional experience, to achieve self-awareness, and to develop sensitive understanding responsive attitudes in relations with children and parents" (p. 30). Typical areas discussed are: relations with children, relations with other teachers, relations with parents, and educational issues and problems. An attempt is made to provide an accepting, nonjudgmental atmosphere where each individual is valued. It is hoped that this will lead to a process of self-exploration, which in a strengthening climate provides emotional release and moves the individual toward greater self-insight. This in turn may lead on to

changes in attitudes toward children, parents, and other teachers.

Another approach with some of the same general aims is that of certain of the workshops offered by the National Training Laboratories (Bradford *et al.*, 1947). These institutes in group dynamics have been primarily concerned with helping persons learn to be effective group members, to develop skill in human relations.

A recent study by Bowers and Soar (1960) has concerned itself with the relationship between participation in such a Human Relations Workshop and the social behavior of children in a given teacher's classroom. Children in the classes of teachers having such training showed themselves as significantly superior in group problem-solving skills to children whose teachers had not had this training.

Should the sort of seminar Moustakas is describing or the Human Relations Workshop be led by the school psychologist? There is the issue, as in consultation, of the value of the outsider versus the value of the insider. Obviously, there is the question of the competency of the school psychologist. These approaches do require special training; some will have it and some will not. The encouraging results of the Bowers and Soar study indicate that here may be a powerful tool for the development of better classroom climate and social functioning for both teachers and children. Thus it merits serious consideration by the school psychologist, if he has or can acquire the training. Access to training is fairly easy, since there are summer workshops—such as those at Bethel, Maine—which he can attend. It also points to another approach, that of making it possible to employ someone from outside to provide such training for the teachers.

A word might be said here about the question of college credit for such courses, or indeed for any formal systematized work offered for teachers in the field of psychology. In Utopia, everyone will embark on such experiences for the sheer joy of learning and of enhancing his or her own interpersonal skills. But in this none-too-ideal world, teachers have heavy time demands upon them. Continuation of one's certification and salary advances are often dependent upon the accumulation of college credit. One effective way for the school psychologist to enhance the psychological

knowledge and skill of teachers would be working with a university department to devise ways to provide such experiences for teachers and to give them college credit for the work. With the vast extension teaching programs in many state universities, such a plan is often entirely feasible. It is one of many areas in which the school psychologist's most appropriate role might be that of a catalytic agent.

TRAINING IN MEASUREMENT AND EVALUATION. Measurement is another broad field of psychological knowledge appropriate for the school psychologist as teacher. A previous chapter directed attention to the group testing program. Training in interpreting test results and in relating them one to another can be most helpful to teachers. In a similar fashion, help in test construction can yield positive results in classroom efficiency—or at least it should. Assistance in the use and even the development of rating scales, of sociometric and reputation tests, attitude tests, objective observational methods, and the like, can be of major value in the classroom.

Teachers often express some dissatisfaction with evaluations of teacher effectiveness that rely entirely upon class performance on standardized achievement tests. Certainly the point is well-taken that an achievement battery fails to get at certain important goals of the schools. For example, teachers are apt to be skeptical of results that show television teaching to be as effective as regular classroom teaching, even though achievement tests indicate that this is true (Schramm, 1962). Often, however, they are unable to suggest any alternatives for achievement tests other than a highly subjective judgment of how they feel about it or perhaps how the children feel. Part of this response may be just a reaction to threat, it is true. But it also shows an awareness that the acquisition of factual subject matter, generally what is measured by achievement tests, is not the whole story of education. The school psychologist might play an important role in helping teachers look more critically at the possibilities of using and even developing devices that relate to other goals of the schools. For example, education is generally assumed to have as a goal the promotion of more effective and more "cooperative" social interaction. There are ways by which one may assess this. The Russell Sage Social

Relations Test (Damrin, 1959) has been used for just this purpose. This test sets as its task the cooperative building of a design from a number of interlocking blocks. Each child is given a block, and success at the task is only possible through cooperative planning and action. Scoring techniques with adequate reliability have been devised, and validity data have been obtained. The OSCAR (Medley & Mitzel, 1958) is a carefully worked out observational schedule and rating scale for use in assessing such variables as classroom climate and teacher warmth. Other kinds of observational approaches may be developed that relate to the variables not measured by achievement batteries. Not only is this a field in which the psychologist can provide information and training; it is also a field in which research and test development are sorely needed.

TRAINING IN PROBLEM-SOLVING TECHNIQUES. Another relevant area is that of aiding teachers and other school personnel to develop problem-solving techniques. To some extent this has already been explored in the chapter on research. One of the greatest contributions a psychologist could make to a school system would be that of increasing the reliance on data-oriented, empirical approaches to problems demanding solution. Certainly this is not a training function alone; happily it may pervade the whole approach of the school psychologist to the life and needs of the school. But on occasion it may be advantageous in some groups to give specific training in setting up research designs and in analyzing data.

Lippitt's concept of the consultant-trainer is apposite here. Lippitt (1959) feels that most group-consulting situations require such a combination role. The consultant role is predominant during the first phases of the relationship, in which the consultant helps the group clarify and develop its own goals. The trainer role predominates in the later phases, when the group has the problem of learning the procedures and skills needed for them to move toward the goals they have set. The specific content and procedures to be learned will vary with the goals set. It is possible, however, through such a process to help a group acquire a better grasp of general ways of problem solving in group situations.

He Who Runs May Read—and Look

Although direct teaching, and the indirect kinds that stem from consultation relationships, may be the major way the psychologist in the schools transmits his skills and insights to others, he might also devote time and thought to the question of learning materials for teachers.

There is a wealth of materials in the general areas of human development and mental health. Unfortunately, such materials vary a great deal in excellence and in the particular use to which they may be put. This demands certain winnowing on the part of someone knowledgeable in the field and aware of the way in which the material will be used.

MOTION PICTURE FILMS AND PLAYS. Cinematic presentation lends itself effectively to a treatment of human development. It is possible to condense pictorially into a few minutes certain aspects of growth that it would take years to observe directly. Mental health in its genetic aspects can be treated in a similarly effective manner. For such films, there are a number of rental sources which may be profitably used. The Psychological Cinema Register of Pennsylvania State University carries a wide range of psychological films; the New York University Film Library, among others, rents many films on development and on mental health. Many state universities, such as Indiana, maintain extensive film libraries. State and regional mental health authorities often have films available at no cost. Public libraries often provide this service. The *Educational Film Guide* carries listings of all films relevant to its concern. The psychologist will also find helpful the film reviews carried in the issues of *Contemporary Psychology*.

To the person for whom this field is relatively new, probably the best procedure is to begin to collect film catalogs—particularly those which provide considerable descriptive material, to explore local facilities, and to start previewing films.

Essential also is the development of skill in film showing from the standpoint of initial presentation and especially of follow-up discussion. A conspicuous problem is that of shaking the group out of the passive viewing habits developed through the years in the motion picture theatre and in front of the television set. An-

other problem is that of making discussion productive once the initial apathy is overcome. Some film makers seem to operate on the principle of making a film a completely self-contained unit; a problem is presented; a solution is offered all neatly tied up with a ribbon. With such complete closure provided, small wonder that discussion drags. Other films, and sometimes this is true of the best of the mental health films, arouse anxiety and hostility in the viewer. Many persons, on showing such films, have been disconcerted when the first comments from the viewers are directed toward harsh criticisms of the technical qualities of the film. As Prados (1951), however, pointed out long ago, in discussions following mental health films such expressions of hostility are almost inevitable. They are perhaps a necessary prelude to advancing toward a clearer look at the content of the film. Fortunately, for the novice, there are publications directed toward helping the presenter of films develop the techniques needed for efficient group use. Such books as those by de Kieffer and Cochran (1962) and by Brown, Lewis, and Harclerod (1959) can be of major help. A considerable number of films, also, come with guides designed to promote effective use of the films in question.

Mental health associations in recent years have made considerable use of skits and short plays to serve as lead-offs for discussion. There are some excellent ones available, often with carefully worked out discussion guides. These are generally planned for a small—and decidedly amateur—cast; they require little in the way of scenery or props; they generally run for no more than half an hour. And, of course, nothing is to keep a group from developing their own skits or even more elaborate plays. Often these can be of more immediate relevance to situations than published plays.

READING MATERIALS. In these days of self-instructional devices, learning machines varying from simple pasteboard boxes to elaborate electronic contrivances, one may forget that the greatest self-instructional device ever invented was the printed word. From the days of Gutenberg and Elzevir, no learning device has seriously challenged it. As any librarian can tell you, the real trick in self-instruction is to bring the reader in contact with what to be read at just the time it is needed, and in attractive and readable form.

There are many publications in psychology, particularly in human development and in mental health, written for teachers or laymen. Only the naive would think that handing a person a book can effect any considerable change in personality organization or behavior, or even in understanding. The fact does remain, however, that many persons are receptive to certain kinds of knowledge or points of view, and that supplying appropriate reading material may be one way for the school psychologist to extend his effectiveness. The return may not be great, but then the time expenditure is small.

Pamphlet material especially recommends itself. Teachers are busy and often harried people. They have little time to sit down for long periods of serious study. A pamphlet can be tucked into one's handbag, read on the bus, while sitting under the hairdryer at the beauty parlor, or while waiting at the laundromat. They are inexpensive—some even free; they can be bought in large quantity so that they are readily available in a school. Many organizations concerned with child development and teaching, with mental health and public affairs, have over a period of years published such materials. Government agencies have also been active in this field. A list of such organizations and agencies, together with their addresses, is given at the end of the chapter. By sending a postcard of request to each of these, an individual may be placed on their mailing lists for current catalogs and publication listings.

An often employed device is the placing of a collection of such pamphlets in each school, in the teacher's lounge or in a special corner of the library. With some care as to methods of display and to timeliness of particular topics, such a collection receives real use. Especially important is a simple check-out system or free circulation. Such an enterprise can easily be carried on by others once initiated. The psychologist might serve to get such a collection started and put to use. Later, it could be more appropriately handled by teachers and librarians, with perhaps occasional help in locating and evaluating new materials psychological in nature.

Teachers will wish to purchase pamphlets they find helpful. An additional service to render is the development of some easy method for purchase or order of such materials. If the teacher has

to sit down and write a letter enclosing 25 cents for a given pamphlet, she may put it off until doomsday. Where she can put her quarter down on the counter and walk off with a pamphlet, it is more likely she will purchase it. Impulse buying works here as well as in the supermarket.

Increasingly, school systems are providing professional libraries for their staffs. Some of these are excellent and highly usable; unfortunately some depend for their use upon the teacher's coming down to the central office of the school system, finding out if they have what she wants, and then, if she is lucky enough to find they have the book she is looking for, checking it out. This, to be sure, is basically a problem for the librarian, not the psychologist. On the other hand, the psychologist might serve two useful functions here: one, keeping up to date the professional materials that are in his field and are suitable for teachers, and the other, working toward the greater usability of materials where and when needed.

Some groups of teachers have used effectively a book club in which each member bought a book at the beginning of the year and then exchanged books with other members as the year went on. If a school is not already employing such a way of making timely material easily available to teachers, the psychologist might wish to start such a group; or better yet, he might encourage some of the teachers to initiate such a plan.

Upon occasion the school psychologist might look toward the provision of materials that he himself prepares for special use. For example, information explaining the use of the particular referral forms the system is using can cut down on the time needed to acquaint new teachers with the procedure. Material on interpretation and use of the tests involved in the group testing program may be profitably constructed. Some departments of psychological services and group testing divisions already do excellent jobs in these respects. The school psychologist can often, by writing around, make a collection of examples that will be useful guides to him as he goes about developing such materials for his own school system. Although initially time-consuming, the material will continue to be useful over a long period of time. The psychologist may also wish to participate in contributing

items to the weekly or monthly newsletters that some school systems publish for their teachers. Writing such materials is an art, but it is an art that can be acquired. The psychologist may take his cues in writing style and modes of presentation from the many excellent pamphlets available in child development and mental health.

To find one's way through the welter of pamphlets, films, and plays in publication takes time and often much skill in searching among publishing agencies. A service many school psychologists would find helpful in this regard would be a subscription to the Human Relations Aids Program Packet Service. This organization surveys the field of educational materials in family life, human relations, and mental health. Six times a year a packet is sent to subscribers that contains actual samples of new materials, such as pamphlets, plays, and bibliographies, descriptions of new films, and suggestions as to how to use the materials. While some of it is not germane to the interests of the school psychologist, much of it is. It is also helpful for any groups in the schools concerned with planning educational programs, such as PTAs. The address of the organization is listed at the end of the chapter.

Freeing the Teacher for the Use of New Acquired Learning

So far this chapter has been addressed to the role of the school psychologist in training teachers. Implicit has been the idea that thereby teachers would learn to do better what they are now doing, or to take on new functions. This poses what is probably the major issue for the psychologist as he attempts in his own area to teach teachers: the problem, to paraphrase Hollister (1959), of how, for the teacher, he can make the knowledge enabling rather than demanding.

The school is the one institution in our society that reaches everyone, and that at an early age and for long periods of time. And in the schools the pivotal person is the teacher. Thus the schools, and in particular the teachers, have been called upon to rectify social and personal ills, to undo the mistakes of previous generations, to prepare for a new space age. Teachers, being but

human, are unable to do all these things. Then the school psychologist comes along, and teaches teachers new things about studying children, new ways of improving classroom climate, new ways of working with certain learning disabilities.

But teachers are already overworked: classes tend to be too large; too many clerical activities are demanded; too many extra-curricular responsibilities are assigned. Teachers being conscientious, however, often tend to be like Boxer, the great grey drayhorse in George Orwell's frightening fable of totalitarian government, *Animal Farm*. The reader may remember that the hardworking, conscientious Boxer reacted to every demand with the resolution that he must work harder and yet harder. Since he was already working to the limit of his strength, this fine resolve did nothing but send the poor animal to an early grave.

And so the school psychologist not only has the need to impart knowledge and skills in his specialty to teachers. He also has the responsibility of trying to see that they have time and opportunity to put into use what they are learning. Some, perhaps many, of the things the teachers may be learning do not require additional time to put into use; they are simply ways of doing better what they are already doing. But take the sort of thing, for example, that is done by Prescott's group with the child-study program at the University of Maryland. Peck and Prescott (1959) state its purpose as follows: "To help teachers and other educational personnel understand each individual child, not just children in general, so that the decisions which the teacher must make about each child are most facilitating to his learning and development" (p. 8). This is a fine aim, one with which most of us would be entirely in accord. But it takes time to acquire this approach. And then it takes much more time to learn to understand each individual child of the thirty or forty the teacher has in her classroom, and yet more time to arrive at the decisions needed for each particular child. We cannot simply appeal to the teacher's conscience and sense of professional responsibility. We must look to some ways of releasing teachers from certain time-consuming activities. In this way we can make it possible for them to spend time in learning to know individual children, in constructing their own evaluation

devices, in assessing the social climates of their classroom, and in working upon the hundred and one problems that demand their highest skills.

So the manpower problem rears another of its hydra heads. A number of devices have been suggested, many tried, some actually tested.

THE USE OF INSTRUCTIONAL SECRETARIES. One such device is the use of secretarial help to take care of certain clerical work demanded of teachers—checking roll, filling out requests for supplies, duplicating materials, collecting lunch money, and so on. This is often entirely feasible if money can be found, and even five hours a week per teacher is five hours gained for educating children. An interesting light on this possibility was provided by Turney (1959) in a study of the use of such instructional secretaries. Two findings are relevant here. One concerns the teacher's attitude and desires for such assistance. The money must come from somewhere, and generally such secretarial and clerical help can be provided only by the limitation of other personnel. Will teachers be willing to handle more children with an instructional secretary than without? Contrary to what might have been predicted, teachers did report that they would be willing to handle as many as five more children with an instructional secretary even for half a day a week. A little examination of per pupil cost of schools would indicate that considerable secretarial and clerical help could be provided for what it costs to educate five children. A second finding relates to the effect upon achievement in the classrooms. Turney did not collect much material on the achievement of children in the two groups. Such findings as he has reveal little effect upon achievement, either over-all or in comparisons of those children initially low and those initially high on achievement tests. This suggests that one might look at the uses to which the teachers put the secretarial time made available. Apparently the heaviest use was one of having the secretaries duplicate learning materials, drill exercises of a workbook type. There is nothing sinful about this; it may be, however, that more productive uses could be found for the secretaries, and for the released time of the teachers. Surely the moral is that simply releasing teachers from certain tasks is not enough; help must be given in how to

use the time gained to heighten teacher effectiveness. When released time is coupled with a positive program, results should be forthcoming.

THE USE OF TEACHING ASSISTANTS. Controversy has been rampant over the employment of teacher aides or assistant teachers. Again, this practice is no panacea, but there may be ways of breaking down the job of teaching into certain units, some of which can be handled effectively by less highly trained persons. Some schools make considerable use of substitute teachers who can take over to give teachers time for committee activities, special course work, and the like. Other schools make effective use of secondary school students to release teachers from certain tasks. High school youngsters in family life classes, for example, work with first graders on the playground, thus giving the teacher freedom from the supervision essential for these youngsters. Members of the Future Teachers of America in some high schools assist elementary teachers in many daily tasks. They can read to children, check their spelling and arithmetic, perform a multitude of necessary activities. These will be jobs requiring no special skill, and all will need some measure of supervision from the classroom teacher.

MECHANICAL DEVICES AS TEACHER-SAVERS. A glance might also be cast upon the provision in schools of the types of office machines that will save the teacher's time and energy. Truly adequate duplicating equipment, available on short notice, is a great time and temper saver. Anyone who has ever struggled with a balky mimeograph machine, or waited ten days for material to be duplicated, knows the problem. Some types of recording equipment would also be highly useful if a central transcribing service were provided. For example, teachers are forever being urged to make anecdotal records, make them often, and make them in detail. If one has access to a dictating machine, the complete recording of an anecdote can be a matter of two minutes rather than twenty.

In the great controversy over educational television, teaching machines, and all manner of mechanical devices, their most justifiable purpose has often been obscured in the smoke of battle. This is the releasing of the teacher, whenever possible, from tasks that can be performed without her help. Thus, she will be able

to devote more time to the unique contribution that can be made only by the flesh-and-blood, sensitive, and responding human being in the classroom. Much of education is and will ever remain an interpersonal process, in which the relationship between the teacher and the taught is crucial. As educational television becomes more effective, as learning materials programmed for self-instruction with machines become more adequate and abundant, some measure of the job of information imparting may be turned over to the world of automation. This should give the teacher not a lower status but a higher one. The master teacher of the future will not need an oil can and a screwdriver, nor will he or she need to be a television star. Instead the teacher will need an armamentarium of interpersonal skills, a broad knowledge of human development, of human learning, of mental health—and the time and ability to put this knowledge into practice.

TRAINING FOR THE PSYCHOLOGICAL STAFF

In his own bailiwick, the psychologist may perform important training functions. There are special skills demanded of secretarial and clerical workers not needed in other offices. Newly employed psychologists seldom have all the skills and the knowledge they need to work effectively in a school system. Interns and trainees from university centers pose special problems. Let us examine each of these situations in turn.

The Secretarial Staff

Within his own office the psychologist will usually find certain training necessary for his secretarial and clerical staff, whether one person or a dozen. Suppose we start with the not always justifiable assumption that a secretary has adequate skills in the use of usual office machinery, types adequately, transcribes at a reasonable rate, is able to set up and maintain a filing system, and can answer the phone in a civil fashion. What else does she need to know: what other skills must she acquire? Someone should write a manual for the secretaries of psychologists in the schools.

Until the happy day when someone does, the psychologist must look for possibilities of ways in which his secretary or other staff can contribute to his greater effectiveness.

One of these might relate to the kinds of materials and the sorts of people with which the office will be dealing. The secretary must learn appropriate ways of handling confidential material. She must also learn what cautions she should observe in terms of the people who call and who come to the office. There will be a higher percentage of somewhat disturbed or emotionally upset persons on the psychologist's telephone wire or doorstep than is the rule in business enterprises. Some of them will begin to unburden their troubles on the secretary. A secretary with nothing but business experience may actually feel that it is her place to offer helpful advice and a little first aid therapy. It is better to disabuse her of the idea before she ever has the chance to put it into practice.

The use of the telephone often becomes an important element in the adequate operation of the psychologist's office. However urgent the call, there are often times he cannot answer the phone. Suppose one is having a conference with a troubled parent, and that one is finally getting to the point of breaking through the mother's defenses. One cannot break off to talk on the phone with a principal worried about a juvenile court hearing on one of his eighth graders. Telephone companies generally have in their employ persons who are past masters at suggesting tactful and effective ways of dealing with requests that must be postponed and in protecting a busy person from interruptions. Many a psychologist's secretary would profit by such instruction.

Another way to increase the effectiveness of the secretarial staff will be teaching those parts of the psychologist's job that can be handled effectively by them. Often this means organization of work in somewhat different ways from those with which he is familiar. Care in setting up routine procedures can yield good returns. Take, for example, the secretary's part in data analysis, such as would be needed for a group testing program or for research purposes. Once computation routines are clearly laid out, with a little instruction, a competent secretary or clerk

can take over the bulk of the machine work on such analysis. In addition there are probably many of the simpler kinds of tests which a good secretary, adequately trained, can handle with supervision, heretical as this notion may appear to some. The writer knows of one such secretary who developed major competence in the giving and scoring of tests used for classification at entrance to first grade. These included the Draw-a-Man Test, a picture vocabulary test, and a reading readiness test. She was thus able under supervision to render major assistance at a peak period of demand in the office in which she worked.

Where there are several members of an office staff, a time-consuming problem for someone is the assigning of work loads, the development of consistent office routines for those tasks that recur frequently, and the general supervision of workers. This requires considerable time and skill; in general it does not require much specific psychological knowledge. Any good administrator has to acquire these skills. Having once acquired them, however, the good administrator will try to transmit them as much as possible to someone else, probably the most administratively skilled of his office staff. This person can then function as an office manager, or executive secretary, to see that the office is run efficiently. In a sense this is the task of housekeeping, important in any office.

Harold Seashore (1958), in an article on the school psychologist's role in research, has made the point well that a good housekeeping system for records is crucial for the psychologist who would do research in the schools. Indeed it is crucial for all efficient work in the schools. Yet it is something none too common. As in all housekeeping, its basic purpose is not to make the house—or the records—present a good appearance. Instead, its objective is to allow the work of the house and its members to proceed smoothly and effectively. Order, not meticulousness, is the goal. For the school psychologist who lacks the requisite skills to develop efficient office procedures, professional help is available from companies specializing in office supplies, or from persons in business education. This is one of the many areas in which the psychologist might wisely become a consultee rather than a consultant.

The Psychological Staff

The school psychologist with chief responsibility for the psychological services of a school system will usually have as a major teaching responsibility certain training for the less well prepared psychological workers on his own staff. His responsibility will lie in helping them acquire and put into practice the knowledge needed for their jobs, and in encouraging and facilitating their professional development. In the millennium all school psychologists will come well trained for their particular jobs. Until that day, however, and particularly in the decade ahead, many persons with insufficient or inappropriate training will be—must be—employed. These persons may meet minimum certification standards in many states. Yet, in view of the generally low expectancies of training for minimal levels of certification, many persons will be certified without training to function in any broad capacity. Typically, many employed at the lower levels are apt to be deficient in consultation skills, in research knowledge, and of course in the more difficult diagnostic work. Many will be deficient in their knowledge of school settings. The psychologist who can serve as supervisor-trainer for these persons acts both to provide better services for his own school system and to upgrade the profession generally. The techniques he uses will be as varied as the methods of graduate instruction generally, particularly as these relate to practicum experiences. As in his work with teachers, he will have the particular advantage of being able to give instruction in situations that are immediate and significant.

Some problems occur with persons of a generally high level of training. A typical one is that of the individual shifting from one field of psychology to another. The most usual case is probably that of the clinician turned school psychologist. If the person's training has included a considerable amount of work with children and experiences in school-related child guidance settings, the transition is apt to be easy. Otherwise, help will be needed in acquainting the erstwhile clinician with the limits and potentials of school settings, and in helping him develop the communication skills he needs to work with teachers. Somehow he

must acquire a clear awareness of the points of view of school personnel.

The techniques one might use in furthering the professional development of one's staff as psychologists in the schools are in general the same ones that one would use in one's own development. A later chapter will be devoted to the topic of professional growth, since the field of school psychology does pose some special problems here. What a chief psychologist will in general be able to contribute to the professional enhancement of his staff may be providing encouragement, opportunities, and safeguards for them. He can encourage one psychologist to continue with a research project on programming learning that he wishes to initiate but is a little dubious about. He can provide an opportunity and expense money for another to attend a summer workshop on group dynamics. A third he can protect from taking on such a heavy service load that he has no time to look up from his Binet kit. He thus serves as a facilitator; he clears the pathway for the growth of his staff; sometimes he provides the little push that starts the staff member on his way.

The Supervision of Interns

Another training responsibility for the psychologist in the schools, if we take the long view, is that of serving as supervisor-trainer for interns. Although this kind of training will have much in common with the sort that might be provided for one's own staff, some important differences may be pointed out. The first relates to the essentially joint responsibility held by him as supervisor-trainer and by the university staff member who serves as general supervisor. This job of maintaining a balance between the immediate on-the-job responsibility of the school psychologist and the ultimate responsibility for the intern of the university supervisor can sometimes become a delicate one. Two things at least should prove helpful here. One is the clear structuring of responsibilities beforehand, preferably in the form of a written memorandum of agreement, for the university department, the school system, and the intern. This seems particularly important at present, when internships in school psychology are relatively new and there are few codified procedures. Along with this, means

should be developed of maximizing communication between university supervisor and school supervisor, between intern and university supervisor. Many of these problems will dwindle away when the internship center is physically close to the university department. At the present state of development of internship facilities, however, this is often not feasible. Ways must be worked out to keep communication as free and frequent as possible. Telephone calls and plane trips, expensive at first thought, may turn out to be highly economical in the long run.

Another difference in training interns and one's own staff lies in the responsibility of the on-the-job supervisor to provide a balanced program of activities for the intern. One can justify training one's own people in terms of the needs of the specific school system; for the intern one has the task of providing a program that gives a balanced opportunity to learn the role of the school psychologist in its many facets. This makes the supervision of the intern somewhat more difficult than that of one's own staff. It does, however, furnish rewards. One reward is probably the heightened critical awareness of the goals of one's own program. This may come as one asks what one's program has to offer to an intern and what really represents a balanced program of activities for an office of psychological services. And another is the satisfaction in having made a definite contribution to the productive use of psychology in the schools, a payment on the debt owed to one's own teachers and professors, but payable only to those who come after one.

Whether with his own staff, with teachers, or with others in the community, such as parents, the psychologist concerned with a broad application of psychological knowledge to the needs of the schools will find many occasions to transmit his knowledge to others. If he can also help those persons in turn to transfer their understandings and skills to still others, he will have an ever-increasing effect. In the beginning this may be painfully slow, but as time goes on, like the ever-expanding ripples from a pebble dropped into a pool, this transmission of knowledge may reach to outer edges of the school and the community.

**SOME SOURCES OF PAMPHLET
MATERIALS**

Association for Childhood Education, International, 3615 Wisconsin Ave., Washington 15, D.C.

Child Study Association of America, 9 E. 89th St., New York 28, N.Y.

Hogg Foundation for Mental Health, University of Texas, Austin 12, Texas.

Human Relations Aids, 104 E. 25th St., New York 10, N.Y.

John Hancock Mutual Life Insurance Co., Health Education Service, 200 Berkeley St., Boston 17, Mass.

Mental Health Materials Center, 104 E. 25th St., New York 10, N.Y.

Metropolitan Life Insurance Co., Health and Welfare Division, 1 Madison Ave., New York 10, N.Y.

National Association for Mental Health, 10 Columbus Circle, New York 19, N.Y.

National Congress of Parents and Teachers, 700 N. Rush St., Chicago 11, Ill.

National Institute of Mental Health, Bethesda 14, Md.

National Society for Crippled Children and Adults, 2023 W. Ogden Ave., Chicago 12, Ill.

Public Affairs Committee, 22 E. 38th St., New York 16, N.Y.

Science Research Associates, 259 East Erie St., Chicago 11, Ill.

Teachers College Bureau of Publications, 525 W. 120th St., New York 27, N.Y.

U. S. Government Printing Office, Superintendent of Documents, Washington 25, D.C. (From this office one may obtain the publications of the Children's Bureau, the Office of Education, and other governmental agencies.)

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8

WORKING WITH AND THROUGH OTHERS : III. The Psychologist as Social Inventor

The school psychologist who wishes to have a broad impact upon the schools must learn ways of extending his functioning, must make the most of the distinctive and characteristic life of his school and community. In a word, he must be an innovator, a creator of social inventions, often small and specific to a given situation, that can multiply his usefulness.

Lewis Mumford (1955) in a commemorative essay upon Patrick Geddes, the philosopher and city planner, suggests that the great virtue of Geddes as a city planner lay in his ability to utilize the small situation, to begin improving a city by enlisting the help of the man on the street, the woman in the tenement, the child in the neighborhood school. As Mumford states,

One of his first innovations toward improving the congested slums of Edinburgh was not to map out an ideal system of open spaces, but to get hold of every small patch of unusable or unused vacant land,

and, with voluntary effort, turn that into a tiny patch of garden or park. . . . He felt that if the right method were established, one which enlisted the interest and service of the plain man and woman, even of the school child, a little leaven would in time leaven the whole loaf (p. 112).

In following Patrick Geddes's lead, the particular things the school psychologist may devise will depend upon his own ingenuity and upon the nature of the community in which he works. The small situations he utilizes will vary greatly from time to time, from locality to locality. Some of them will consist in discovering untapped pools of manpower, or simply a few individuals who could be helpful. Others will be the particular facilities of a community that might be directed toward self-enhancement for children or the provision of coping skills. Some will be occasions in the lives of children themselves which suggest the possibility of an optimal return for the amount of help given the youngsters. It would be folly to offer prescriptions for such a highly individualized approach. Instead this chapter will provide some illustrations of possibilities that might be appropriate under the general rubric of social inventions.

SOME MODEST PROPOSALS

First of all, we might consider innovation from the standpoint of developing the available manpower in a community as it relates to the goals of school psychological services. The increasing population and material prosperity in America mean that not only do we have large numbers of people in need of psychological help; it also means that we have many people who potentially could provide help, and that we have money to pay for this help. The trick is getting the people, the money, and the skills together. The school psychologist, in his struggles with the manpower situation, may look to the employment and training of persons without psychological background but capable of acquiring sufficient training to perform certain needed activities. He may also look to the possibilities of volunteer workers, a feasible approach in these days of increased leisure time.

Training Nonprofessionals

In most communities, one large source of manpower is far from sufficiently used. This is the number of women with a fairly high level of academic training—college graduates or so—who have reared their families to a point where all their children are in school. There are also many others with less training, but bright and capable. Many of these would be able and even eager to take on jobs that would not consume more than half their day and in which they could feel they were making a significant contribution to human welfare. Many women with all their children in school for seven hours of the day find they have time they would like to put to productive use. Not everyone finds fulfillment over the bridge table or the coffee cups. Our society in general has done a poor job of finding ways of utilizing such part-time manpower. Fishing in this pool, the school psychologist might take some plentiful catches. And, in addition, these part-time workers might well become full-time workers once their children are in college.

This waste of trained—or trainable—woman power is one of the great tragedies of our struggle in the human welfare professions, as indeed in many other fields of endeavor. Mary Bunting has focused the eyes of many thoughtful Americans upon the waste of highly trained women since assuming the presidency of Radcliffe. She has instituted there a program of Associate and Affiliate Scholars. Provided with fairly liberal stipends for work on a half-time basis, they refresh and extend their academic training that was interrupted by marriage. According to *Time* Magazine (1961), when the program was first announced, 2400 applications were received. As Mary Bunting said, "To use a Quaker phrase, we must have spoken to their condition."

The Radcliffe program has been directed toward women with the doctorate or "the equivalent in achievement." The school psychologist in general will wish to be much more modest in his expectations of academic background. Most communities, however, will abound in women capable of learning skills with great service potential for the psychologist working in the schools.

The problem of training will be a serious one. In time, the sort

of leadership Mary Bunting is providing may help develop training facilities feasible for women who can work only half time and who cannot move to locations away from their families. If one lives close to a university center, it is possible to make arrangements whereby a person through part-time work can acquire some of the specific skills and understandings needed. Many women in large cities are already acquiring advanced training on such a part-time basis. Sometimes the training will have to be given nearer home, perhaps by the psychologist himself. This may prove extremely time-consuming. If, however, the psychologist would devote a large segment of his time for six months to giving intensive training to two individuals, he might well be ahead in the long run.

Training nonprofessionals has seldom been done; there are therefore few guidelines, few reports on its actual use. It is worth speculating about, however, as a possibility. Just as one can train one's secretary to take over certain of the more routine and more clearly specified aspects of testing, so one could do this with a high-level community recruit. One could also use such people to serve other psychological needs in the schools. There are many situations in schools in which children need a large measure of personal attention. Often the need is not for highly trained psychotherapeutic help, but simply for someone who can lend support and acceptance, help make arrangements for special experiences for a child, perhaps just spend time with him. This help is far too little and too unskilled to provide for a child in serious difficulties. There are many children, however, not disturbed but simply undergoing some situational difficulty, or coming from an emotionally or culturally deprived background, who could make good use of such opportunities. This "friend to a child" approach would appeal to the kinds of persons one would be likely to draw from a pool of well-educated women with children of their own. Basically, its effect in altering children's behavior is as yet untested. But it holds promise as one way the psychologist could extend his effectiveness in contributing to the positive mental health of children.

Volunteer Workers

One way to multiply one's impact as psychologist is to look in the community for people with the skill, personal qualities, and time to be helpful. The Youth Development Program (Bowman *et al.*, 1956), a project of the University of Chicago in a small midwestern city, has made effective use of persons in the community for work with children with special talents. An attempt is made to bring together, for example, a child with special talent in art and some adult with art interests. The adult works with the child upon occasion and generally tries to foster his interest and skill in the area. The same approach could be extended through other needs of children. As an illustration, children from underprivileged homes might find some new dimensions of experience when given the opportunity to make themselves at home in someone's house where there are many learning materials for children—books, magazines, records, drawing materials. Such children would also profit from the opportunity to go on trips to places of special interest. Other children may need most of all just some association with an understanding and accepting adult.

Immediately the problem arises of how to go about recruiting people for such work. If this is nonpaid—and it generally will be—one runs into the problems with volunteer workers that have bedeviled community and national welfare organizations for decades. No one has come up with the complete answer as to how you sort out those who are potentially valuable workers from the sunshine soldiers who quit when the going gets hard. Bowman, chief consultant for the Youth Development Program, states that one of the better methods they have used, to locate people to work with children, has been to use the children themselves as informants. The youngsters could give a better picture of the people who would be helpful than other adults could. They really knew, from personal experience, which adults they could count on for friendship and interest. This horse's mouth approach should be particularly valuable in looking for individuals to provide support and acceptance, and with the willingness to spend some time with children.

With America's aging population, one might look to possibili-

ties with retired persons. Over and over, we hear that one of the chief problems for the retired person is that most activities suggested and provided for him are entirely recreational in nature, many of them simply time-killers. What he looks for, but cannot find, is some activity he sees as worthy, challenging, and significant. This is particularly true of the man. As is generally recognized, the woman who continues her role as homemaker does not face the sharp break in role continuity her husband encounters at retirement age. Here there may be a supply of potential helpers for youngsters who need someone to spend time with them, and to give them the affection and support they may lack. Certainly there are many older people who would be poor choices for such relationships. On the other hand, there are many vigorous, active, and warm-hearted elderly people who could enter into such a role with joy and effectiveness. The problem again is getting the right child with the right older person. An older man who is skilled in shop work, for example, could provide fascinating and meaningful experiences for a small group of boys in need of some adult male companionship. The older woman could spend time with a few underprivileged girls, and give them opportunities to explore such home activities as baking cookies and making themselves gay-colored blouses. This could be a reward for her as well as for the girls.

Perhaps what we need are Grandparents Clubs. In our society, organized around the nuclear family, the young and old too seldom establish and maintain close relationships. This is to the detriment of both age extremes.

The Benevolent Enterprises of Civic, Church, and Social Groups

The many groups and clubs that include as part of their general program of activities some attention to social welfare may also be grist to the psychologist's mill. Such endeavors range all the way from those of church kindergartners who stuff Christmas stockings for shut-ins to the elaborate programs some national civic clubs maintain. Because their own understanding of the broad range of community needs is often rather circumscribed—as with most of us—the ideas many local groups come up with

are apt to be limited. The thinking of many of them has not advanced beyond the "Thanksgiving basket for the needy" stage. And while it may be well and good for the needy to be provided with Thanksgiving baskets, this does not hit at the basic economic and personal needs of the poor, nor does it go on to provide many kinds of help more lasting than one good meal. The other extreme is perhaps furnished by some clubs with national affiliations which take on projects recommended by the state or national offices, without any idea of how to make the projects viable.

As an illustration of the latter extreme the writer knows of one state church group which took as a project "the emotionally disturbed child." With excellent intentions this group wished to get aboard the bandwagon. But they had no idea of what they might do, either in terms of encouraging the development of treatment facilities, supporting research, contributing to preventive work, or promoting legislation. They were badly in need of a better understanding of emotional disturbance in children, and of ways of providing help and treatment for such children. Above all, they needed some ideas that they could themselves put into operation. Such a group, given some direction, could be a genuinely positive force for providing better facilities for treatment and for prevention in a state or community.

The number of groups who have in the last decade "decided to do something about juvenile delinquency" is past reckoning. Again the intention is excellent; what is often lacking is some clarification of the potentials of the group and some direction as to profitable avenues for it to follow.

The school psychologist obviously cannot, and should not, attempt to harness all such groups to psychological purposes. Where such groups are floundering for ideas, or for ways to make their ideas viable, he may have much to offer.

Riesman (1950) and others have written of the depersonalization of modern American life. It may be that in working with such benevolent activities of community groups that the psychologist—who should know something about human learning, and thus about ways of reinforcing behavior—could contribute to a greater humanizing of our relations with others.

As modern and suburban life has become more complex, more bureaucratic, more highly organized, we have moved a long way from the small town and the rural community where one had a direct and often personal concern with the welfare of the members of the community. Almost through necessity, one's benevolent acts today have become organized, channeled through social agencies, and moved far away from any immediate contact with the persons one is trying to help.

Social welfare groups have come to believe, with wisdom, that the Lady Bountiful approach is a poor way for handling social welfare. Christmas and Thanksgiving baskets have become anathema to the trained worker, for example. Their point, of course, is that such approaches as these do not strike at the heart of the problem of the long-term economic subsistence, that they put the recipients in a humbling and dependent status, that they are merely a sop to the guilt feelings of the more fortunate. In a measure this is all true. The alternative often suggested is something in the way of a United Givers Fund. Here persons contribute a certain amount that is divided among a large number of agencies, often a hundred or more. All are worthy; all are important; but where is the reward or reinforcement for the giver? The Sunday School group that packs a basket of toys and Christmas goodies for the nine ragged little Flannigans is not simply assuaging its guilt feelings. It is learning to care for and to provide for the less fortunate, albeit in a short-sighted fashion. Somewhere there should be built into benevolent enterprises some kind of personal contact between the giver and the receiver.

It is not enough to see a picture of a dirty, abandoned tear-stained infant on the front page of the newspaper, one that your contribution to the United Givers Fund is to help. In theory we know that ten dollars contributed to an international fund will feed a child in Outer Mongolia for a period of a month or so. Most of us as adults are willing to contribute to such a worthy cause. But one may question if this is the way we first learned to care for the less fortunate or to share with them a common humanity.

With ingenuity it is possible to respect the pride and independence of the less fortunate and at the same time to provide

the personal contact that may give reinforcement to one's charitable or—in a perhaps more exact translation of the New Testament *ἀγάπη*—fostering impulses. For instance, the writer knows of a settlement house that runs a Christmas shop for the needy people in the community, where parents can come in and select gifts for their children. These gifts of clothing, toys, school-supplies, and the like are free and are provided by various social groups. So far, this is a somewhat usual practice in social centers. What this settlement house adds on, however, is the opportunity for the groups and individuals who donated the gifts to visit the Christmas shop, and after the gift distributions are made to learn something of the mothers who selected the particular items and the children for whom they were chosen. They can watch some of the youngsters in the settlement day-care center. In this way they can see fairly closely at hand the consequences of their own acts, one effective way of establishing behavior patterns.

THINK LITTLE

As the school psychologist looks about his community, and as he looks at the lives of the children in that community, many situations may occur to him that suggest ways of becoming more broadly effective in the field of mental health. This section will concern itself with such settings and events in the lives of children. We shall again follow Patrick Geddes' lead of looking at the small situation. All children experience certain common stresses brought on by developmental changes, the birth of siblings, death in the family, changing school situations, illness—things that happen to all of us but that hold potential for moving forward or slipping backward in our ability to cope with life's demands. Every community has many facilities that could be useful for some of its children in helping them to realize their potentials and in aiding them to develop skills to cope with the stresses of life.

Stopping Trouble before It Starts, or Primary Prevention

One avenue the school psychologist might take is to develop techniques for anticipating and preventing possible difficulties.

As we gain insight into the origins of mental disorders, we may be able to intervene in situations that might be expected to lead to future difficulty. A project of the State Mental Health Authority in Georgia serves as a good illustration. Here Rhodes and Matthews (1957) gave heed to the literature concerning the effects of maternal deprivation on subsequent development in children. They set about devising a study to observe the effects of intervention when a child was deprived of its mother in the early years. Some mother substitutes were provided, often on a part-time basis, for children separated for a length of time from their mothers; consultation services were available for the family; community and civic groups were mobilized.

One might take a similar approach to juvenile delinquency or personality difficulties. We have some indication today of possible predisposing factors in the environment. We might thus find it possible to head off a difficulty before it reaches serious proportions.

Another preventive measure with promise might be working with the younger siblings of a child in difficulties. If Joe comes to us as a confirmed delinquent, it may be better strategy to spend our time with his younger brother, not yet overtly delinquent, than to concentrate on Joe. And as important as it may be to find treatment for Helen, seriously disturbed emotionally, it is just as important, and often far simpler, to attempt to promote the welfare of her little sister.

The Normal Crises of Development

Another preventive effort worthy of exploration is providing help for children in coping with what we might call the "normal crises" of development, situational or personal changes that happen to many or all children.

Such writers on mental health consultation as Klein and Lindemann (1961) and Caplan (1961) have used the term *crisis consultation*, to mean something more specific than that intended in the phrase, "normal crises of development." The two terms, however, share an emphasis upon the lasting effect of a small amount of help given at a time when the individual is facing a problem for which previously learned patterns of behavior are inadequate.

The Chinese ideogram for crisis is a combination of the two symbols for danger and for opportunity. In crisis situations, as Caplan points out, there is danger that the individual may move further away from reality. Yet such occasions provide one's best opportunity for acquiring new and more adequate patterns of coping with life's problems.

Let us turn to a few examples.

First, population mobility. The average American family moves once in every five years, and most children at some time in their school careers must adjust to a new school and to new classmates. For some children this is easy. Others find it difficult indeed, particularly if moves are frequent, as they must be in some cases to bring the average up to once in five years. Educators have become concerned with the problem and have focused attention on the effects upon the child's achievement. But it is probable that such changes of residence have effects as well upon the child's personal adjustment, his ability to form relationships, and certainly upon his peer status, a factor of extreme importance for most children past the primary years.

Some teachers have tried the device of having a special new-comer's committee in their classrooms. This can be helpful upon occasion. Others have used more informal means of sponsoring new children. Efforts directed toward developing techniques to help a strange child gain status in his new group of peers might pay conspicuous dividends.

There are always broken or temporarily disrupted homes. With our current divorce rate, and the usual incidence of illness in parents, many children face crises related to the lack of an intact home. Here again, appropriate and timely attention to the children appearing most vulnerable to such events might help them cope with the crisis successfully.

For children in the primary grades, the birth of a new sibling sometimes becomes almost a crisis situation. Again, attention to children giving evidence of disruption at this event might help them safely through the period of struggle. The case of short-term counseling in Chapter 6 illustrates this point.

Illness also may create difficulties for a child, particularly if it extends over several weeks or months. Take, for example, the

not unusual sequel of such an illness, a regression to less mature patterns of behavior. Jerry, an eight-year-old, comes back to school after having been seriously ill for a month and a half. He has become much more infantile in his behavior; this has been rewarded at home where his parents were seriously concerned over his recovery. Back in his third grade classroom new problems face him; academically and socially his group has gone on six weeks without him. Will he turn into an invalid and whiner? Will he re-establish himself in the group? This is not a serious crisis, just a normally occurring stressful situation. But sometimes such small crises may be easily handled, and thereby yield large returns in helping youngsters toward more positive adjustment to life demands.

For still another example, take some of the aspects of physical maturing. Puberty in itself may be seen as a potential "normal crisis" for many children. The adjustment to new role expectancies, the changes in self-image demanded, may present major difficulties for children. This is apt to be particularly true for children who deviate markedly from the group at the age of reaching puberty. We have known for some years (Jones, H. E., 1943) that the late maturing boy is at a particular disadvantage socially during the adolescent years. And we know that this disadvantage tends to leave some permanent scars upon his personality organization (Jones, M. C., 1957). Efforts directed toward helping such youngster achieve a more desirable social status might pay long-term dividends. Similarly, some type of group counseling might be helpful for youngsters who share in common a particular developmental phase and some of the new demands associated with it.

The alert and creative psychologist in the schools can probably find many additional situations with potential for bettering mental health. As he looks at these "normal crises" of development he may see many situations most children manage to cope with on some level, but that many children could handle more effectively if the help they needed were provided at the right moment. Perhaps one important thing the psychologist can do is to help teachers develop more sensitivity to the normal but stressful sit-

uations many children experience, and to help them discover ways of helping children through these trying times.

Recreational Activities: Formal and Informal

In most communities beyond the small town there will be organized recreational programs. Like everything else they vary in excellence. They also vary in focus. Many of them unfortunately yield to the almost overwhelming pressure of the citizenry—or the more vocal parts of it—toward providing spectacles. Thus the tail that wags the dog of many recreational programs, in summer at least, will be team sports, particularly the junior baseball league.

We might, however, ask the question that most of the thoughtful people in the field of recreation have been asking for years: how can one use a total program of recreational activities to promote the welfare of the wide range of youngsters such a program should reach? This is a question that needs a book for an answer. All we shall do here is to look at two or three aspects of such programs with particular implications for the psychologist concerned with the mental health of school children.

First, the sad but familiar problem that such programs often tend to reach the children who need it least. It is not the boys who are deficient in physical skills that become the darlings of the Knothole League. Not the classroom sissy, who needs contacts with more boys and men, but the classroom leader gets the coach's attention. The shy little girl, who wants desperately to make friends but who is too timid, is not the one who feels welcome to join the cooking class or the dramatic club. Reversing this trend is no easy job; there are measures, however, that might be effective.

Suppose, as an example, we take the problem of the boy who is seen as effeminate by peers, one who has grown up in a predominantly female household with no strong male figures with whom to identify. The Little League is no place for this boy, even if they would take him on. He is doomed to failure in athletic skill; the physically rugged, ex-all-American coach is not one to provide him with a father substitute. He can never make an adequate role identification with such a rugged physical specimen.

But it might be possible to provide him with a slightly more congruent role model, one who could help him toward a more appropriate and more realistic sex role. At the same time one might be able to provide him with skills which, while not necessarily requiring physical prowess, would still meet with the approval of his masculine peers. Where recreational programs include photography clubs, various science interest groups, even vegetable gardening contests, he can participate on a more equal basis. He may find there a club leader who would be a better role model for him in that the youngster could see some chance of patterning himself after that person. In addition, there are sports that do not place a premium upon physical size or strength. This is true of swimming and other water sports. Hunting and fishing make no great demands upon physical stamina but are perceived as highly masculine activities. It takes little muscle development to squeeze a trigger; the most undersized boy in the bunch could become the best marksman. Some of these activities are not usually parts of city recreational programs; there is no reason, however, why with a little ingenuity they might not be made available to many youngsters.

If one looks at such criteria of positive mental health as those culled from the literature by Jahoda (1958), one can see many ways that recreational activities may contribute to the development of better mental health. Jahoda's six criteria are: Attitudes toward the self; growth and self-actualization; integration; autonomy; perception of reality; and environmental mastery. It is not hard to envisage how many recreational activities could be utilized to promote mental health, or more positive functioning in line with these six criteria. The psychologist should ever bear in mind, as he looks at the many opportunities within his community, that for most of us life's greatest therapeutic experiences do not occur in a counseling hour with a trained psychotherapist. Any experiences—and in recreational activities there are many such—that lead to a more positive attitude toward self and toward others, and increases the individual's ability to cope with stress, may be seen as strongly therapeutic. This is perhaps what is meant in Masefield's haunting line: "The days that make us happy make us wise."

THE TEST OF SOCIAL INVENTIONS

Approaches such as those discussed in this chapter cry out for research. As an example, let us return to the situation of the late maturing boy. We have enough research to indicate that this boy is apt to be in need of help if he is to achieve a high level of personal adjustment. To the writer's knowledge, however, we have not gone on to make a careful test of methods of helping such youngsters to better social adjustment. We have made no careful evaluation of the adequacy of functioning of nonprofessionals in school psychology. The success of volunteer workers in certain kinds of psychological work is virtually untested. The wise psychologist, in trying out such social inventions as he may devise, will try to build into his exploration some type of evaluation. Over the years the noneffective ideas may be discarded and those that show promise may be increasingly explored. It is to be expected that many ideas will be duds. Even a few live ones, however, can make a material difference in the welfare of children in the school and the community over the years. In time, then, a little leaven can indeed leaven the whole loaf.

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9

RELATIONSHIPS WITH SCHOOL PERSONNEL

The psychologist new to a school finds, as he would in hospital or clinic, in industry or the university, that he is a member of a social system. This social system has certain characteristics that are true of the majority of schools; other properties apply only to a particular school or group of schools.

An understanding of the way of life of a given school system is essential for anyone who would work effectively within that setting. To attain this understanding, one must come to know the values of the school staff, the way in which they perceive their roles as members of that staff, the way in which they perceive the roles of others within the schools, and the way in which the community sees the roles of school people. The school psychologist, coming into the situation, needs a clear understanding of the limits and potentials of schools, and of the staff, for fostering the intellectual, social, and personal growth of children. This chapter will point out some aspects of school systems and the roles of school people as they are important to the school psychologist. Only

through an awareness of such limits and potentials can he learn to work with school staff members in a mutually productive fashion.

THE INSTITUTIONAL NATURE OF THE SCHOOL SYSTEM

In one sense school systems may be seen as bureaucracies, at least as the term is used by Max Weber in his *Theory of Social and Economic Organization* (1947, p. 333). According to Weber a bureaucracy is characterized by having its activities "distributed in a fixed way as official duties." There is a definite division of labor; its officials are subject to constraints; it is governed by a series of abstract rules. There is a definite social hierarchy of positions, and selection is based on technical qualifications and is appointive rather than elective. Members are promoted on the basis of length of service or of performance. These characteristics in general apply to a single school; they also clearly apply to a total school system in which one must encompass not only principals, teachers, and nonteaching staff, but also the superintendent and the school board. In the total school system one can see another point in common with governmental bureaucracies. The official policy makers of the school system are the school board members, who represent not the schools but the external system, the community, with which the school system must deal.

It is commonplace today to point to the increasing bureaucratization of American society and to view this trend with disfavor and concern. Thus, Merton (1955) remarks upon the increasing pressure in bureaucracies toward conformity, the maximizing of security as the chief good in life, the rewarding of mediocrity, the punishment of creativity. These things are probably true in general; they also are true often enough, alas, in school systems.

But bureaucracies, or at least highly organized institutional settings, can be benign as well as malevolent. This point has been well made by Pendleton Hering (1961) in an address before the American Association for the Advancement of Science:

Those who satirize the "organization man" might more realistically compare his plight with that of the "tribal man" or the "feudal man" rather than with the individualism of a golden age that never existed.

The individual can only express himself meaningfully within a coherent social setting. Organizational complexity need not threaten the integrity of the individual. It is the prevailing ethos that is significant. This means that, to fulfill his role, the citizen of a free polity needs to be aware of the consequences of his actions and beliefs (p. 2).

The moral for the school psychologist, as indeed for every worker within the schools, is clear. To function effectively, he must be aware of the way in which his role, as seen by himself and by others, fits into the intricate matrix of roles and functions within a particular school system. On entering a school system, he needs to keep in mind the bureaucratic aspects of the situation, whether for good or ill, that affect his performance and potential and also those of other personnel in the schools. He should be well acquainted with the particular structure of the school system within which he will work. For example, he ought to be familiar with such matters as the way in which the school board is constituted, the administrative code for his school district, the terms and conditions of appointment and tenure for school staff from superintendent to custodian. This information is generally available and easily obtained within a specific school system. A broader discussion of the structure of school systems can be found in textbooks on school administration. For example, Mort (1957) and Hunt and Pierce (1958) devote a considerable amount of space to these topics.

Such structure is the skeleton of the school system. The fleshing out of that system, its blood-and-sinews character, depends on the particular setting and the particular people in that setting. Yet idiosyncratic as teachers and school executives are—by virtue of membership in the human race—their behavior exhibits certain general influences worth examining. The following sections of this chapter will be addressed to a look at some aspects of the status and characteristics of teachers, supervisors, superintendents, and principals as they have meaning for the school psychologist.

A word of caution should be inserted before we move on to a discussion of these topics. School psychologists, by and large, will for the present tend to work in situations where there is sufficient money and concern to permit the employment of spe-

cial personnel. This means that the educational settings in which they find themselves will often be more favored than those that represent the median status of school systems and school people in the country. Thus, although it is important to have a general picture, the school psychologist should be sharply aware of the distinguishing characteristics of his particular setting and of the people with whom he works.

THE TEACHER

Any occupational group as large as that of teachers is bound to be extremely varied in age, background, qualifications, and experience. Some demographic data may be helpful, however, for understanding the teacher's role as seen by himself or herself and by others.

Our hypothetical modal teacher today is a married woman in her middle forties with about fifteen years of teaching experience behind her. She is the mother of two children. She has a bachelor's degree, and has taught in two other school systems besides the one in which she now works (National Education Association [NEA], 1957).

If we move from this hypothetical teacher to actual statistics, we find some enlightening trends.

First, sex distribution. Only 14 percent of elementary teachers are men, and these, of course, chiefly in the upper elementary grades. In high school the percentage is approximately 50 (NEA, 1957).

The majority of teachers are married. Over 80 percent of the men teachers in both elementary and high school are married. Among the women teachers, 59 percent of the elementary teachers are married and 41 percent of those in high schools (NEA, 1957).

In terms of education, over three fourths of teachers today have bachelor's degrees. A master's degree is held by 13 percent of elementary teachers and 43 percent of the high school teachers. Typically, also, the teacher will recently have attended a summer session in a college or university (NEA, 1957).

In years of teaching experience, men average eight years and

women fifteen. It follows that the typical male teacher is younger than the female one. Men also have a higher mobility rate than women, men averaging about four years to a system and women six. Typically, men and single women show uninterrupted teaching careers. With married women, however, 68 percent report such interruptions, usually for full-time homemaking, pregnancy, and child-rearing (NEA, 1957).

Now for some of the implications of this nose-counting as it pertains to understanding the teacher and his or her view of the teacher's job.

The Married Woman Teacher's Career Orientation

One striking finding is the large number of married women in their thirties to fifties who are teaching in the elementary school. This means several things. First, teachers are parents. Mrs. Wilson may be the fourth grade teacher. But as far as the junior high school goes, she is the mother of Sam Wilson, seventh grader. She has all the responsibilities and expectancies of a parent for her child in school. She occupies a seat on both sides of the fence in the old dichotomy of teacher and parent. This position is a source of potentially increased understanding of the children she teaches and of the children's parents. True, this broader point of view is not always realized in actual contacts with children or parents. Yet it is a potential strength the school psychologist can draw upon in helping the teacher with problems of interaction with specific children and their parents.

For many such women teachers their salaries are not the primary source of income for their families; they are instead supplementary. In our society there are few occupational provisions made for married women with children who, although unable to assume a full-time job, would like to work part-time. Teaching has seemed to many an answer to this need. It has been an adequate solution for many women who wish to work, yet to be at home when their children are out of school—in the afternoons, the weekends, and the summertime. But teaching is not a part-time job, at least as presently constituted. Something suffers—the job, the home, or the teacher, or at least so it would well seem. The surprising thing is perhaps the great number of

women who manage to balance these different and demanding roles with a considerable measure of success. Still there are possible difficulties for the school psychologist who forgets that the point of view of the elementary teacher is not always as professional and career-directed as he had assumed.

The Career Orientation of the Male Teacher

Single women and men, both married and single, are a different story. For such persons, teaching is a career, with a smaller number of breaks in service, and with teaching as a major source of income. The economic situation of the single woman teacher, while not ideal, is obviously less complicated than that of the married male teacher. With teachers' salaries what they are, the married man teacher generally finds himself in severe economic straits. Income is low; yet he and the community will have middle class, often upper middle class, expectations in terms of living standards. Available solutions are limited. One is getting out of the profession; hence the smaller number of men and the lower median age for men teachers. Another is becoming a school executive, a path open to only a limited number. A third, and a widespread one, is that of outside employment. Denbow (1954), for example, found in Allegheny County, Pennsylvania, that only 11 percent of male teachers lived on their income from teaching; the rest had a supplemental income. This all adds up to the fact that the male teacher can seldom give his undivided attention to teaching as a profession. If he is to provide a decent, albeit modest, standard of living for his family, take care of illnesses and emergencies, educate his children, and provide for old age, he cannot do it through teaching alone in the majority of school systems in the country.

The Academic Preparation of Teachers

LEVEL OF TRAINING. We will now look at some of the implications of the general level of training for teachers. Three fourths of elementary teachers have a bachelor's degree; nearly one half of the high school teachers have master's degrees. About one half of all these teachers will have attended summer sessions in colleges and universities within the last five years. Here, then, is a

group highly trained when compared with the general population. It is also high in training as compared to the majority of occupations, with the exception of such highly specialized professions as medicine and law. The education of this group, furthermore, has emphasized understanding of human behavior; it has placed its stress on the improvement of functioning in the children with whom its members will work. True, teacher education varies widely in quality—as indeed does almost any kind of education that is not severely regulated. Taken as a whole, however, teachers are the only sizable occupational group within a community that has devoted a large measure of professional training to areas of behavior and experience related to mental health and the development of positive functioning. The implications for the school psychologist are obvious.

EDUCATIONAL VALUES. Another relevant aspect of the teacher's training stems from the particular educational values they are likely to have embraced during their college years. The watchword of teacher education seems to be "democratic action." In textbook after textbook for teachers and for school executives, one finds an emphasis on the importance of democratic action, group participation in decision making, the development of common purposes. For example, Hunt and Pierce (1958) entitle their textbook: *The Practice of School Administration: A Cooperative Professional Enterprise*.

Another representative textbook, this time on curriculum (Stratemeyer, Forkner, McKim, & Passow, 1957), has the following to say:

Democratic values give direction to human living and their implications deepen as new situations are faced and new problems solved. . . . The test of an individual's commitment to these values is his willingness and ability to put them into action. . . . The school is the one social institution in which there can be no room for wavering with respect to the commitment. Our democratic values must be reaffirmed and translated into action (pp. 48-49).

Other writers could be quoted on the same point, an emphasis not only on democratic values, but also on a particular process, so-called democratic action.

If we make the often-used distinction between process and product orientation (Kelley & Thibaut, 1954), probably much of the teacher's training has centered around process. There has been a heavy emphasis on the democratic way of reaching decisions as a chief value in her interactions with pupils and colleagues. She also knows this is an important aspect of the value-inculcation of school executives in their training. Thus it becomes the "good" way to do things, the right way.

On the other hand, much of the teacher's activity must perforce be product-oriented. Children must learn; their achievement must be measured. One must have an orderly neat classroom with artistically arranged specimens of the children's work displayed about the walls and bulletin boards. One's class must put on a first-rate assembly program. Parents, the community, and the public press see the product; process is seldom understood or even thought important. In addition we have the tremendous pressure since the midcentury toward academic excellence and the achievement of supremacy in technology and science. Small wonder then that there is conflict in the teacher's perception of her own role and the perceptions of others above her in the educational hierarchy.

THE ASPIRATIONS LEARNED BY TEACHERS. Also relevant are the tremendously high aspirations conveyed by many textbooks on education—and probably by teachers of education courses as well. For example, take the following two quotations, from widely used textbooks in education:

Teaching is not only one of the most important of the professions from the standpoint of human welfare; it is also, when properly understood, one of the most technical and difficult. The teacher is not merely a person who assigns lessons to children and checks to see whether the lessons have been learned; the teacher is a builder of human lives and a trustee of the cultural heritage which this generation holds for the enrichment of the next (Ragan, 1953, pp. 38-39).

Indeed, teaching requires a constant rededication to the infinitely complex task of helping young men and women develop their potential capacities for dignified, varied, full, rich lives, lives filled

with joy, confusion, conflict, partial satisfaction, partial frustrations, but always sustained through the warmth of the perpetual, if at times flickering, light of freedom (Cantor, 1953, p. 330).

Fine statements, these. And others could be quoted to the same effect. But what does the student learn from such writings? The good teacher must be a paragon of all the virtues. She must have wide—and deep—knowledge in her own field, if she is a high school teacher. If she is an elementary teacher, there must be broad knowledge in many areas of human concern—from folk games to the natural sciences. Good teachers must have an understanding of human development and its multitudinous variations. They must be able to guide each individual child to realize his best potential and acquire those behaviors expected by the school and, ultimately, by his society. Teachers must be able to overcome the effects of adverse home and community environments. They must be able to educate children for an unknown, and often unpredictable, future. And they must themselves serve as identification figures, models of those virtues the child must so laboriously acquire. Little wonder, then, that as a group teachers sometimes feel inadequate, insecure, and even incompetent. An astute superintendent of schools once remarked to the writer that he was convinced that every school teacher, when she went home at night, crawled into bed, pulled the cover over her head and said, "Thank God, they didn't find me out today."

Such unrealistic aspirations can well make for insecurity and defensiveness on the part of many teachers, a possibility the school psychologist should keep ever before him.

The Amount of Teaching Experience

The relatively long period of service of the average teacher—eight years for men, and fifteen for women—is worth examining. First, we might consider the number of child hours our average teacher will have spent in the classroom. This teacher is approaching the half-way mark in the million child hours he or she will spend in the classroom during a professional career. Not only does this mean he or she has an enormous potential for influencing human behavior; it also means that the teacher has the richest opportunity in our society to observe human behavior in the

growing organism. The teacher who has watched fifteen elementary class groups come and go is not thereby an expert on understanding human behavior and its origins. But he or she nevertheless has a vast fund of observation to draw upon, if it can only be put to use. Since Wickman's day (1928) it has been pointed out that teachers fail to recognize the seriousness, from a mental health standpoint, of certain kinds of behavior in children. This was true then, and as later investigators have shown, to a certain extent it is still true (Stouffer, 1952). An important point, however, has been missed in such discussions. Teachers recognize the behavior in question; they also recognize how typical or deviant it is. What they lack often is a knowledge of the seriousness of certain kinds of behavior, or their long-range consequences. Knowing that the teacher often has the raw data of behavior observation, the school psychologist may be able to help her interpret the meaning of such behavior and relate different behavioral manifestations one to another.

The picture, of course, is not always so rosy. Constant repetition of behavior patterns may make teachers less sensitive to them. Years of continuing in the same job may produce a hardening of modes of operation, the building up of comfortable routines, the development of protective cynicism that eases the criticisms of self and others when one is falling short—as one often must—of the high ideals inculcated in one's years of training.

Perhaps the last paragraph is simply saying that not all teachers are teachable. Fortunately, however, many are. If the school psychologist can avoid mobilizing the defenses of teachers, he will find a group of individuals who tend to be well educated, intelligent, sensitive, and highly motivated to improve their own performances. He will also find a group oriented toward the improvement of the intellectual, social, and personal development of the children in their charge.

The Teacher's View of the School Psychologist

So far this look at the teacher has been addressed to increasing the school psychologist's understanding of the limitations and potentials of the teachers. We must now look at how the teacher views the role of the school psychologist.

Obviously, the teacher's perception of the appropriate role for the school psychologist stems in large measure from contacts with previous school psychologists. There are, however, some general trends worth considering.

Historically the school psychologist has been seen as the tester, usually the examiner for special class placement. This role is understood; it is unambiguous. It is thus a role any teacher will accept, and it is also upon occasion the only role with which the teacher is familiar.

The school psychologist is probably also perceived by the bulk of teachers in relation to the mass media picture of the psychologist. This is usually the distorted, simplified picture of the clinician in private practice or upon occasion in the clinic or hospital. He is seen as a person who ferrets out the abnormal and bizarre, whose first office purchase is his couch, who sleeps with a set of Rorschach plates under his pillow. Small wonder that some teachers approach a new psychologist cautiously, and try him out before coming to him with any problem of importance.

These two role perceptions are ones that create constraints for the school psychologist. There is another, however, even more dangerous, and at the same time more seductive; this is the role of the expert. It is hardly surprising that teachers, whose concerns are centered around the process of education, would respect training, and especially the usually high level of training they see the psychologist as having. The feelings of inadequacy so prevalent in teachers mean that they are often seeking for someone to give them an answer; they want something they can take as the Writ and the Gospel. If the school psychologist wishes to pose as an expert, it is often made all too easy for him. But that way danger lies. There are relatively few situations in the complicated life of the schools and the children it shelters where pat ready-made solutions will be efficacious.

Fortunately, however, there are signs that teachers are interested in a different role for school psychologists, something more than that of the tester or answer man. There seems to be a trend toward seeing the school psychologist as a helper and facilitator for the teachers as they learn to handle more effectively the

problems arising in their own classrooms. For example, some years ago the Nassau County Association of School Psychologists made a survey of what teachers in their schools wished they had in the way of increased services from their psychologists. It will be remembered that Nassau County is an area with probably the greatest density of school psychologists in the nation. Heading the list for these teachers was "making suggestions," an indication that they wished help in coping with their own classroom problems. The Nassau County survey is only a straw in the wind, but like many such straws, it shows that the wind is blowing and whence it comes. Teachers appear ready to accept a role for the psychologist as one who works with teachers to help them to develop further skills and understandings in their interactions with the children. If the school psychologist can learn to work productively with teachers, avoiding their defenses and respecting their strengths, he will find a ready market for all he has to give in the way of transferring skills and understanding to others.

SUPERVISORS

As such textbook writers in the field of supervision as Burton and Brueckner (1955) have pointed out, supervision is a function shared by many persons in the school. It is defined in various ways by writers in the field. The *Encyclopedia of Educational Research* (Wiles, 1960), for example, quotes such definitions as: "Supervision is a planned program for the improvement of instruction" (Adams and Dickey). "Supervision has become a program of in-service education and cooperative group development" (Alexander and Saylor). "Assistance in the development of a better teaching-learning situation" (Wiles). "All efforts of designated school officials toward providing leadership in teachers and other educational workers in the improvement of instruction; involves the stimulation and professional growth and development of teachers, the selection and revision of educational objectives, materials of instruction, and methods of teaching, and the evaluation of instruction" (*Dictionary of Education*). These quotations are enough to show that there are varying perceptions of supervision: its meaning is extremely broad and often vague;

it represents a group of functions performed by a number of school staff members.

The Role of the Instructional Supervisor

Our concern here, however, is with those persons officially designated as instructional supervisors and the ways in which their roles and their perceptions of these roles relate to the work of the school psychologist.

We may make a start by remembering that supervisors have come out of the same socioeconomic background as teachers, have followed the same educational path, and usually come into supervision by way of a number of years of teaching. Instructional supervisors occupy a position in the educational hierarchy on a level with that of principals and certain specialists such as school psychologists. In organizational charts they are generally identified as staff rather than line personnel.

If one may be guided by textbook discussions of supervision, and such definitions as those already quoted, it appears that the emphasis on the general role of supervisor is that of leadership directed toward—to quote Wiles once more—“the development of a better teaching-learning situation.” The process by which this is to take place is through democratic action. For example, Burton and Brueckner (1955) state, “The primary function of supervisors of all types is leadership, thus the encouragement and recognition of leadership in any other person either on the professional staff or among the community participants” (p. 5). In educational writings there seems more consensus on how one is to supervise than upon the products that the supervisor is expected to achieve. And again there appears implicit a certain conflict between process and product, the means and the end.

The School Psychologist's Relation to the Supervisor

The reader may well think at this point that the functions of supervisors and school psychologists have broad areas of overlap. In a sense this is true. It is probably true also that the psychologist who wishes to move from an entirely psychometric role or a strictly clinical one may be concerned with where one job leaves off and the other begins. Supervision, as suggested above,

is often defined in extremely vague terms, terms that make a broad blanket indeed; the general functions suggested in this book for a psychologist within the schools also cover a wide territory.

What, then, are the distinctive aspects of the two jobs, the areas of special competencies, the areas of mutual support and help?

To the writer, there appear to be some distinct competencies that by and large would be expected of one individual and not the other. Supervisors normally have a much more detailed acquaintance with the curriculum, with specific instructional methods, with appropriate instructional materials. Furthermore, with a home base in education and a considerable background of teaching experience, they come to problems with a different perspective from that of the psychologist. True, the psychologist working in the schools—if he is to achieve any measure of success—needs to have a good general understanding of the goals of the school. He needs to understand enough of curriculum, and of instructional methods and materials, to have an idea of what is feasible within the schools. If his specialty is psychology, however, his point of view will be different from that of the person with the home base in education. Indeed it should be, if he is to make a unique contribution. The psychologist may be expected to have the more extensive knowledge of personality development and interpersonal relationships, of the psychology of learning, of appraisal techniques, of research methodology.

Both the supervisor and the psychologist will be concerned with creating an optimal learning situation. Both of them will be concerned with evaluation of the educational program and assessment of the educational product. The fact that each of them has particular competencies to bring to these, and other large work areas of their jobs, should be an added source of strength for both.

Another moral to this tale is the amount of overlap and the broad directive given the supervisor—and often the psychologist. The question of incongruent pictures of each other's roles is a genuine, although not necessarily serious, problem. There is no completely adequate solution; there are probably several halfway measures that can be helpful. One such measure is for the supervisor and psychologist, together with other members of the school

staff, to work out in detail the primary responsibilities of each. This is particularly important where one or the other is in a newly created job and procedures have not been established. Also helpful is the development of an appreciation by each of the real competencies of the other, something which must often come gradually. Probably the best solution is through the creation of maximum communication and the use of cooperative effort in many situations. For example, take the question of evaluating the educational program of an elementary school. The supervisor has, in all likelihood, a far better grasp of the aims and hoped-for outcomes of the program, of the methods and materials used by teachers. The psychologist will usually be the one with the skill in objective means of measuring outcomes, once the outcomes have been identified. Each, then, supplements the other in finding an answer as to the adequacy of the educational program.

The cooperative endeavors of instructional supervisor and psychologist should be aided by the fact that, generally speaking, they occupy approximately the same status in the educational hierarchy. Furthermore they are both typically seen as staff personnel without line authority. This means that they both enjoy a certain advantage in working with teachers. Not being in an institutionalized authority relationship, they may be perceived by teachers as more approachable. They are thus more free to develop relationships that will enable teachers to explore their own strength and weaknesses. Psychologists and supervisors will do it differently, yet both have major roles in enabling teachers to develop their own potentials in their work with the children in their care.

THE SCHOOL EXECUTIVE

If teachers are, of all professional people, those with the greatest impact upon the mental health of the coming generation, then the school executive becomes the key person in his influence upon the practices of teachers. The school psychologist who can be of help to a principal or superintendent in developing school policies, more effective means of deployment of school personnel, better in-service training for teachers, better means of data gathering has

tremendously extended his effectiveness. This does not mean that the school psychologist has the answers on how to run a school system or even an individual school. What the school psychologist should have, however, are certain knowledges and certain skills of help to the school executive in his problem solving. He should have a point of view that adds another dimension in the consideration of issues arising within the schools. Specifically, the psychologist should be in a position to help in setting up appropriate means of collecting data where a problem is researchable in nature. He should be able to add knowledge of human development, of school learning, and of interpersonal relations to the other facets of the problems that confront the school executive.

The psychologist coming into a school system for the first time may have a major period of adjustment in learning to work with teachers. This is true unless his training has provided—as indeed it should—some understanding of teachers and some practicum experiences in working with them. But the new psychologist may have an even more difficult time in learning to work productively with school executives. There are a number of reasons. The psychologist probably has a much clearer picture of the teacher's role, fuzzy as it may be at times. In the general hierarchy of the schools, his status is perceived as above that of the teachers. In typical organizations he occupies a position about on par with principals; he is of course subordinate to the superintendent and to the assistant superintendents or directors of departments, such as personnel services. This demands a different way of working with the persons involved, and a way that is not always congenial to the psychologist. In the psychology departments of graduate schools, as in other university departments, there tends to be little emphasis on learning how to work in a subordinate relationship. University people pride themselves on independence and freedom of thought. There comes to mind an old definition of the college professor as "a man who thinks otherwise." A graduate training that has stressed independent thinking—and action—with all its excellence, may ill prepare the psychologist, at least attitudinally, for the situation he will face in the schools. The superintendent is an authority figure, and one he may have some difficulty in accepting. More importantly, the new school psy-

chologist may not understand the particular constraints, of which there are many, and the freedoms, of which there sometimes seem few, upon the school executive's action.

The succeeding paragraphs will attempt to point out certain aspects of the superintendent's occupational role relevant to understanding the framework in which the school executive operates.

Background

The superintendent tends to come out of the same background, socially, educationally, and experientially, as teachers. Obviously, school superintendents are almost exclusively male; they tend to be at least a decade older than the average male teacher. Almost all superintendents—98 percent—have at least one year of education beyond the bachelor's degree; 46 percent of them have at least two years. Typically, this graduate work has been in education, chiefly in administration. The median length of service for superintendents in 1952 was 12 years (American Association of School Administrators [AASA], 1952). Economically, of course, they are considerably better off than teachers, although there is a wide spread in salaries. In 1960 the median salary was \$25,000 in cities of over half a million population, but dropped to half of this for cities as small as 10,000 to 30,000 and still lower for smaller areas (NEA, 1960). Such salaries may look good in comparison to those of the typical teacher. Yet even here there is usually a wide disparity between the social standing expected in the community and the economic position of a superintendent.

Appointment and Tenure

The superintendent is at the top of the educational ladder, but in terms of his job he is the least secure member of that hierarchy. City superintendents are almost always appointed by the board of education. The board of education may be elective, or in some situations, is itself appointive by a city or county council. County superintendents are still in many states—twenty-two in 1958—elected (Hunt & Pierce, 1958, p. 355). The school board or the electorate can as easily dismiss as employ a superintendent. As late as 1960, only twelve of the thirty-two states having tenure

laws included superintendents; five specifically excluded them (NEA, 1960).

In practice, however, school superintendents are not a highly mobile group. In the AASA study one out of ten superintendents who had moved from one job to another stated that his move was not voluntary; only 2 percent left because of nonrenewal of contract or substantial pressure (AASA, 1952, p. 282). Still, the possibility of dismissal is ever present. Like other settled members of a community in their forties and fifties with economic, social, and personal investments in the life of that community, the superintendent usually wants to stay where he is. Within the community there is no move upward for him. Thus, in situations where school boards are largely political in nature, the superintendent must devote a substantial amount of his time to quasi-political activities if he is to feel assured of a renewal of contract.

Duties, Qualifications and Responsibilities of Superintendents

As chief officer of a school system, the superintendent is confronted by a multitude of fixed duties plus a wide variety of tasks that are expected, if not prescribed.

In a widely used textbook in educational administration, Hunt and Pierce (1958) state the following as duties that are invariably included in the superintendent's job:

1. Cooperative development and direction of a program that is custom-made for the community and its children.
2. Organization of administrative framework to implement and facilitate the program.
3. Service as the adviser, as well as the executive officer, of the board of education.
4. Democratic leadership of the activities of all school personnel.
5. Observation of legal, educational, and administrative requirements.
6. Development of working relations with homes and other community agencies.
7. Adequate instruction and guidance in the values and practices of loyal American citizenship.
8. Regard for healthful, humanized, and satisfying living for pupils and teacher in the course of school work (p. 11).

Hunt and Pierce go on to say: "He must . . . be an educational leader, a superior organizer, a skilled administrator, a wise supervisor, a strong executive and general manager" (1958, p. 17). Because of the heavy demands upon him, the superintendent should possess: Good health, superior intelligence, desirable temperament, high moral character and ideals, faith in education, ability to express ideas, and certain additional personal characteristics, such as unselfish motivation, cooperative attitude, common sense, and social intelligence. In addition, he must of course have a roster of professional qualities developed through years of study and experience (Hunt and Pierce, 1958, p. 17).

In a sense these are indeed the responsibilities and characteristics of the superintendent. They have been detailed at length to point up three things:

1. The magnitude of the job as it is envisaged by writers in the field;
2. A picture much of which is unrealistic in terms of what can actually be expected of one frail mortal with 24 hours a day at his disposal;
3. A listing of duties some of which are clear-cut, but many of which are extremely vague and open to a variety of interpretations.

Few school psychologists, and indeed few teachers, have any notion of the mountainous demands upon the time of the superintendent. The superintendent is supposed to be accessible: "My door is always open." Certainly it is desirable from many standpoints that the superintendent should be readily available to teachers, parents, representatives of all manner of groups in the community. It is the arithmetic of minutes and hours that defeats the superintendent, or else deflects him from other important demands upon his time.

A dilemma faced by all busy people in responsible positions is that of balancing the urgent with what is in the long run most important. Few people have much sympathy with an administrator who goes off to work on an important but nonimmediate problem while they are waiting on his doorstep with something urgent.

Administrators find themselves tossed back and forth on the horns of this dilemma; often one can satisfy the public or can get his work done, not both. This is in a sense not a problem to be solved, but a situation to be lived with.

There is a suggestion in this list of another conflict, one that appears more strongly in the discussion of the personal characteristic of desirable temperament. Here Hunt and Pierce say:

In his dealings with people he should be sympathetic, but not sentimental, frank and clear-cut but not overtalkative, and courteous and diplomatic to the point where he can be firm and just without arousing personal resentment. He must develop the ability to handle his callers expeditiously, though graciously . . . (p. 17).

This is the conflict between leadership as expressive and as instrumental (Parsons & Bales, 1955), a somewhat similar distinction to that made earlier between process and product. Hunt and Pierce suggest the superintendent must combine both roles. Unfortunately the roles are often mutually incompatible, or can be combined only through an uneasy compromise. If this were one writer only—even if an influential one—this would not be important. It does, however, seem to be a pervasive expectancy in schools and communities. Teachers quite justifiably feel that the superintendent should listen to them, that he should hear their full explanation of a situation, and that he should do so sympathetically. But also he must be the one who takes action or who plots a course; he must be the instrumental leader. One can argue that this demand for a leader to combine both the instrumental and expressive roles is a twentieth-century occidental phenomenon. Erich Fromm's *Escape from Freedom* (1941) and David Riesman's *The Lonely Crowd* (1950) would both suggest that we have increasingly stressed the expressive role of the leader. At the same time we have continued to expect productive action on his part. Even with the ability to juggle these roles, it is difficult to do so seven days a week.

It is possible to go on to delineate other role conflicts experienced—often in acute form—by the school executive. Gross, Mason, and McEachern (1958) have scrutinized the superintendent's behavior in relation to role conflicts in their *Explorations in*

Role Analysis. Seeman, in *Social Status and Leadership* (1960, pp. 40-47), also has examined the role conflicts of the superintendent and his methods of resolving these conflicts. Seeman points out that there are probably four major dimensions of role conflict in American culture with respect to leadership. All of these seem highly applicable to the superintendent—as indeed they probably are to any institutional leader. These are:

1. The status dimension: the issue of hierarchal status versus equality. Should the superintendent be just one of the group, or should he keep a professional distance?
2. The authority dimension: the issue of dependence or independence. How much responsibility does the superintendent have for direction and decision?
3. The personal dimension: the issue of a universalistic versus a particularistic orientation. Is the superintendent to be influenced by personal loyalty or only by impartial considerations?
4. The means-end dimension: the issue of product versus process. Should the focus be on the achievement of goals or on the process by which achievement is reached?

These four basic role conflicts, embedded as they are in the culture, lead to considerable ambivalence in the institutional leader and also among those who are led. They also contribute to what has been termed "leadership guilt."

As recognized by Seeman and Gross, additional aspects of role conflict occur in the lack of consensus among groups as to the appropriate role for the superintendent, and the differential powers of such conflicting groups. The list of duties quoted from Hunt and Pierce suggests how open to different interpretations are some of the responsibilities of the superintendent. It is no wonder there is disagreement among the patrons of the school system and among different interest groups on the meaning of "adequate instruction . . . in the values and practices of loyal American citizenship." Some groups can impose strong sanctions, with severe punishment for not following their requests. Whether to give in to such demands is not simply an issue of the moral versus the expedient (one of the dimensions of role conflict de-

veloped by Gross); it is also a matter of studying the long-term consequences upon the total school program.

So far a gloomy picture indeed has been painted of the school superintendency. This was not, however, the writer's intention. It was rather an effort to portray the particular constraints experienced by the superintendent. It is true that he is highly vulnerable as far as his job goes; he has far too much to do; he is extremely sensitive to role conflicts, both within himself and in terms of the expectancies of others. An understanding of these constraints can give the school psychologist a better picture of the framework within which the superintendent must operate.

Yet—unlike the policeman of Gilbert and Sullivan fame—the school superintendent's lot may be a happy one. If he can learn to handle the demands and conflicts of his job in such a way that he can devote his best efforts to furthering the welfare of the children in his schools, his calling is not only demanding but also richly rewarding.

Some Problems of the Times for Superintendents

A school executive once told the writer that the chief preoccupations of superintendents these days were the three B's—bricks, bonds, and buses. This almost sums up a good part of the discussion in the first chapter of this book on school trends—the emphasis on the galloping growth of school populations and the big business aspects of schools. Every school executive's problem these days is one of bricks—new classrooms, new buildings for the many new children to be housed. It is also the problem of bonds—where to get the money to build the schools, how to persuade the city council to float a bond issue. It is buses—the endless complications, legal, political, and humane, relating to transporting children in town and country. So urgent is the immediate, it is small wonder that attention to the ultimate may be shunted into the future.

An ever-present problem is financial support for the schools. From the United States Senate to the wood-stove circle of the rural store, the financing of schools is intimately involved with politics. It would take a whole book to explore the problem of public support—or often nonsupport—of the schools. There are

two issues, however, worth a brief mention in relation to the public attitude toward financial support for the schools.

One is probably the nonimmediate nature of the reinforcement or reward that one gets from schools. The battle of Waterloo may have been won upon the playing fields of Eton, as the Iron Duke said. Most of us would give lip service to H. G. Wells' statement that human history has been a race between education and catastrophe. Yet education receives meager support in comparison with other enterprises. More is spent on a cloverleaf approach to highways than would be expended for a new secondary school designed with a physical plant to meet all the standards of the best in modern high schools. But we can drive over the cloverleaf tomorrow; the effects of education in our fine new high school we can only see two decades hence, if ever.

An additional reason may lie in the fact that some measure of local support is usually involved in capital expenditures and in operating costs of school systems. This money is obviously collected through taxes. These taxes, because local in nature, are often the only ones in which the average citizen of the community believes he has a voice. The man in the street feels he has little to say in regard to state and national taxes. Who can fight the Internal Revenue Service? He therefore finds relief from his frustration in objecting to local taxes. And local taxes are, of course, what makes the differences between adequate and marginal, or even submarginal, support for a school system.

Along with these business and political aspects of the schools run other current issues that absorb the superintendent's thought and energy. Conspicuous among these problems is that of how to answer the many critics of the schools who have written for the popular press in recent years. It is hard indeed for the average reader to sort out the facts from the fiction, the views of the disgruntled and biased from those of the thoughtful and disinterested. Sensationalism always seems more marketable than sober judgment. Laments for a golden age are ever present. One is reminded of the comment long ago of Sir Francis Burnand, editor of *Punch* at the turn of the century. When a reader said to him, "*Punch* isn't as good as it used to be," Burnand replied, "It never was."

But critics cannot always be demolished—fortunately; sometimes they must be answered. This need for facing up to legitimate criticism, plus the pressures of increased numbers of children without the commensurate increased money to provide increased staff, has set the superintendent to reaching out for fresh solutions to both new and familiar problems. He must search for many new patterns of procedure as he attempts to improve the productivity of the educational enterprise without jeopardizing its quality.

The Role of the School Psychologist as Seen by the Superintendent

This search by the superintendent for new and better solutions suggests that the way may be open for the school psychologist to assume a role somewhat different from that held in the past.

Formerly the school superintendent's view of the psychologist has probably been much the same as that of the teacher. He too knew the school psychologist primarily as a tester. He also had some familiarity with the clinical role. Crises of a psychological sort occur in schools, and he had looked upon the psychologist to handle these. Children and teachers do sometimes exhibit psychotic behavior; youngsters may commit highly antisocial acts. The school psychologist was seen as a sort of local fireman. As tester, the school psychologist was someone the superintendent could, if necessary, hide behind when an irate parent wanted to know why his or her child was recommended for a special class: "The results of the psychologist's examination showed . . .," and so on.

As school systems have grown bigger and more beset by problems, the superintendent has needed to re-examine the roles of all personnel in the schools. He has been led to reappraise the patterns of organization of the schools, the instructional programs in use, and other facets of the life of the school. And thus the time is ripe to think of new roles for school psychologists, ones that might have impact in the two-pronged effort to improve the quality and the quantity of education.

Psychologists, remembering their own school days and what they read in the mass media, are all too prone to think superin-

tendents will be unwilling to accept and implement such new roles. Some will not, of course; and in many situations the money is too tight to provide for additional highly paid specialists.

An interesting straw in the wind, however, was provided by a conference held in 1958 by the Southern Regional Education Board (1959). This conference was part of a two-year study by the board of the training and functions of school psychologists in the South. The two-day conference was made up of psychologists from universities and public health installations, along with state and city school officers from the region, and was devoted to the examination in detail of a role statement on the functions of the school psychologist, prepared by the commission that guided the project. This role statement had much in common with the general points of view expressed in this book. There was emphasis, for instance, on consultation with teachers, research on school problems, consultation on school policies and procedures, in-service training, as well as the more generally recognized role of appraisal. There were, of course, differences of opinion among the school executives as to the viability of the role. The striking result of the conference, however, as the writer saw it, was the willingness of the school executives to accept this new pattern of functioning. In fact, there was a welcoming of departures that might provide help for and insight into some of the issues looming largest on the horizons of the school executive's job. It almost seemed that the school executives were ahead of the university departments in their wish to make meaningful and productive applications of psychological knowledge and techniques to the needs of the schools. If this finding in the southern states has any generality for the rest of the country, the time is indeed ripe for a reappraisal of the school psychologist's role.

Such a broadened role is new; it must be interpreted over and over to people who have not considered it. Yet the time seems ready for an attempt. If a hospitable climate of opinion exists among school executives, psychologists have only themselves to blame if they cannot establish more widely effective roles in bringing psychology to bear upon present and future needs of the schools.

THE PRINCIPAL

Like the superintendent, the principal is an administrative officer who stands in a specific authority relationship to the staff of a given school. And like the superintendent, he must live with conflicting demands and expectations.

The Duties and Responsibilities of the Principal

Some indication of the responsibilities of the principal and of the demands upon him or her may be seen by the results of a survey reported in the Thirty-seventh Yearbook of the Department of Elementary Principals of the National Education Association (NEA, 1958, p. 241). The sample consisted of respondents to a questionnaire sent to every fourth principal listed in school directories over the country. These persons listed the amount of time during a week spent in performing their various duties as follows:

| | |
|--|------------|
| Organization, administration, and management of the school | 28 percent |
| Community work—all types | 16 percent |
| Working with teaching staff | 15 percent |
| Clerical work | 13 percent |
| Working with pupils | 12 percent |
| Teaching (not including demonstrations) | 10 percent |
| Program development | 6 percent |

A look at this distribution of time gives some indication of the amount of routine organization, management, and record and report keeping that must go into the average principal's week. It is little wonder that in many places much of the principal's day is spent in counting—pupils, money, supplies. In contrast only a relatively small amount of time is spent with the teaching staff, and very little indeed in program development.

Writers in the field of school administration are, of course, keenly aware of the importance of the principal in his leadership and program development function. For example, Spain, Drummond and Goodlad (1956), in their *Educational Leadership and*

the Elementary School Principal, use the following statements as the titles for the five major sections of their book:

Educational leadership is the emerging major responsibility of the elementary school principal.

A major responsibility of the elementary school principal is leadership in program development.

Effective educational leadership fosters service to the individual pupil.

Leadership in the administration of the school is an important responsibility.

The effective school principal serves as a key community and professional leader.

The practical situation remains, however, that in many places principals do not have the time, regardless of whether they have the training and personal characteristics needed, to carry out these functions. The obvious answer is the provision of more clerical and secretarial help for dealing with the routine functions.

The survey just mentioned obtained information about the amount of secretarial assistance available for the entire school of which an individual was principal. For 32 percent there was no secretarial help at all; 18 percent had a half-time secretary; 40 percent had one full-time person. This leaves only 10 percent with more than one full-time person. Only 2 percent of the principals had any dictating equipment (NEA, 1958, p. 238). Anyone who has any familiarity with schools knows that in all except the smallest there is a formidable amount of mandatory record keeping. School monies are allotted on the basis of average daily attendance or some similar method of recording school attendance. Records must be kept of supplies of all kinds, from the custodian's mops to library books.

It is hardly surprising that these same principals, when asked what were the main hindrances in using their time as they wished, gave the following four items as their chief handicaps (NEA, 1958, p. 241):

| | |
|-----------------------------------|------------|
| Lack of clerical help | 27 percent |
| Regular teaching duties | 15 percent |
| Lack of administrative assistance | 11 percent |
| Central office demands | 10 percent |

In many places, then, the principal is caught in a situation in which his profession, his staff, and himself see his role as being directed toward leadership in the direction of improving the schools, but in which a heavy proportion of his time goes into the minor administrative duties of keeping track of personnel and supplies.

Where the principal is able to maintain a leadership role, he finds himself in the same role conflicts that Seeman attributes to institutional leaders: the hierarchal-egalitarian dimension, the dependence-independence dimension of authority, the dimension of the universal versus the particularistic approach, and the means-end dimension—product versus process.

In addition the principal has enjoined upon him the necessity of carrying out the policies and procedures of the superintendent and the board of education. In terms of his power status within his own school, then, he has the problem of being an institutional leader without any degree of freedom.

Thus the principal is caught up in a number of role conflicts and demands. But also, like the superintendent, the principal is a key person in determining the success of the educational enterprise as it relates to that segment of the whole for which he is responsible. The principal can well set the tone of an entire school; he can raise or destroy the morale of the teachers; he can build up certain general expectations for conduct and achievement on the part of the children of the school; he in a sense creates the public's, or patron's, image of the school.

The Relation of the School Psychologist to the Principal

The aspiring school psychologist will find that the assistance he can provide the principal through his own special competencies will have a far-reaching effect. In a sense, he can meet the principal on an equal basis, since both occupy approximately the same position in the educational scale. This makes for easier communication and for more freedom in which to operate. There is, however, a possible danger in the situation for the school psychologist. This is the chance of his forgetting that the principal has a line function in the organizational chart. The principal is the re-

sponsible officer for his school, from the smallest first grader to the senior class president, from the gymnasium to the last plate in the cafeteria. When the psychologist is working in a school, he must ever bear in mind this responsibility of the principal for what goes on in the school building. His word—and not the school psychologist's—must be the law insofar as that particular school is concerned.

If the school psychologist can learn to work within this framework—and he must if he is to have any measure of success—he will find that the school principal may be, of all school personnel, the one with whom he can establish the most productive relationships. The principal is close to the teachers; his daily life is bound up with them. At the same time, he must keep his eye on the broader functions of the school, and its position in the community. In many ways, then, the psychologist will find the principal to be indeed the strategic person to open for him the door that leads to improving school learning and the mental health of children.

This chapter has dealt with teaching and administrative personnel. It has attempted to point out some characteristics of school personnel, together with varying role perceptions and role conflicts, important for the school psychologist to keep in mind as he comes to know a school system, and the people who are a part of it. One frequent complaint directed at school psychologists is that they fail to understand what it means to stand in front of a classroom of children, or to sit behind the principal's or superintendent's desk. The common demand for teaching experience as a prerequisite for working as a school psychologist seems to grow out of this feeling. Certainly there is a need to develop an emphatic awareness of the particular situations of teachers and other school people. If this chapter has made clearer some of the limits and potentials of school situations and personnel it will have served its purpose. It will have made some contribution to the development of an awareness of the intricate matrix of values and concerns, opportunities and constraints that surround psychologists who work in the schools.

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10

THE COMMUNITY AND COMMUNITY RELATIONSHIPS

Of all psychologists, probably those in the schools have most need for a clear understanding of the broad community in which they work. One reason is the essentially local nature of the control of school systems. Although public education in the United States is legally a function of state government, much of the responsibility is delegated in practice to the local school district. Cooper, Dawson, and Isenberg (1960) consider the school district as the extreme in local autonomous government in America. As they point out, through their school boards local districts levy and collect taxes, plan and administer the school budget, erect buildings, employ and supervise teachers, determine curriculum content. The state's role is generally one of enforcing the minimum standards it prescribes.

This chapter will attempt to highlight some of the current aspects of living conditions and population groupings that have special impact upon the work of the school psychologist. It will not try to delve deeply into the nature of communities and com-

munity organization; this is a task for the sociologist. Such knowledge is highly important for the school psychologist, and it is hoped that he will acquire such understanding in his years of college and graduate school. This chapter instead will take a general look at communities, and at some groups within them that may be most relevant to the psychologist's work in his town or city.

THE METROPOLITAN COMPLEX

The 1960 census documented what was becoming apparent to most observers; the United States has become a nation of urban and especially of suburban dwellers. Two trips, one by plane and one by car, would suggest to the traveler the major issues in population trends as they affect the schools.

If one takes first the trip by plane, let the traveler take the shuttle that flies between Boston and New York. Then from New York, the shuttle to Washington. If he flies at night he can look down upon a continuous stream of lights, an earthbound galaxy, stretching far from northeast of Boston to south of Washington, and on to Norfolk. This is what Gottman (1961) and others have termed the new Megalopolis, the sprawling giant that corresponds to the nineteenth-century stringtown stretched out along the highway. Here 37,000,000 people live in what is essentially one gargantuan city.

The other trip should be by car, and should take the observer from the center of New York to the farther reaches of Long Island. Let the traveler start at Central Park and proceed on his journey outward from the city. He will pass through the areas of elegant shops, museums, hotels, huge office buildings, on to the heavy industrialized section, to areas of congested housing, to slums, to the "gray areas" of minimum standard housing that ring great cities for miles. From these transitional areas he will move on to the suburbs: first the older ones, now closely packed with people, then to the newer ones, often more spacious, and frequently striking in their homogeneity. Evidences of zoning restrictions become apparent; the traveler recognizes the real estate developments that belong to the "one acre, no house less

than \$40,000" category, or the "two bedrooms, lots 30 x 50 feet" tracts.

Megalopolitan growth and the flight to the suburbs may not be with us forever, but they will undoubtedly be around for a long time. It thus behooves the school psychologist to examine the effects of these two population trends as they affect the communities in which he may live and work.

The Large City

In the early sixties there came from the press a book by Conant (1961) that represented his reflections upon the particular problems of the cities and the suburbs in relation to the education of children, especially in the high school years. This book, *Slums and Suburbs*, highlights some of the issues relevant for us.

THE MAJOR SCHOOL PROBLEMS OF THE GREAT CITIES. The first problem of all is simply—or most complexly—the problem of bigness. As Conant points out, there are more children enrolled in the schools of New York City, nearly a million, than the total population of any other of our American cities except Chicago, Los Angeles, Detroit, and Philadelphia. The annual budget for the New York schools is half a billion dollars. Los Angeles and Chicago enroll in the neighborhood of half a million children, and Philadelphia and Detroit over a quarter of a million each. The complexity of administering school districts of this size needs no underlining.

Although a budget of half a billion and the corresponding smaller but large budgets for the other cities mentioned seem enormous, they are far from adequate insofar as supplying personnel is concerned. And 70 percent of the budget goes for staffing. For example, the usually recommended ratio of professional educators for a district is 50 to each 1000 school children (Educational Policies Commission, 1959, p. 76). The New York City average is 40 professionals per 1000 pupils. This is an approximation of the national average, no better. Many cities fare less well (Conant, 1961, p. 67).

As the title of Conant's book suggests, he sees the major problem of the cities with respect to education to be that of appropriate opportunity for the children of the slums. This is the

picture all over the country where the middle class have become suburbanites and where the culturally deprived are left behind in the cities, or often have moved in from other depressed areas to take their place in the complicated, demanding life of the city. For example, the Negro population of California rose from 462,000 to 884,000 between the 1950 and the 1960 census (Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1961, p. 22). The migration of Negroes to California from the South Atlantic in the last decade means that an overwhelming percentage of the school population of San Francisco would now be classified as culturally deprived. Similar stories could be told by Cleveland, Detroit, and Chicago.

The psychologist working in the schools of the large city is, then, likely to find many of his problems centering around three things: the extensive administrative setup necessary in huge school districts, the shortage of professional personnel, and the demands for educational opportunities to meet the needs of the culturally deprived.

Let us look at each of these problems in turn.

ADMINISTRATIVE CONSTRAINTS. The administrative setup is usually not the school psychologist's problem, except that he must live within it. And this living within it generally demands adjusting to a far less flexible and more slow moving organizational pattern than would be true in smaller communities. Administration tends to beget itself, somewhat in accordance with Parkinson's First Law (Parkinson, 1955), and less and less work is apt to be done by more and more people. The problem of psychological services here is one of developing a form of organization that will enable the psychologists on the staff to use their talent most productively in meeting the needs of the children in the schools. To this we shall turn in a later chapter.

PSYCHOLOGIST : PUPIL RATIO. The ratio of pupils to school psychologists in large cities will generally be a far cry from such recommended ones as one to two thousand children per psychologist. On the other hand, large cities will often have certain resources that smaller communities lack—referral services for disturbed children, hospitals, welfare agencies, and elaborate juvenile court setups. Large cities will also have available a num-

ber of educational opportunities for adults, college work at local universities, extension courses, and adequate library facilities.

Significant as it is in any setting for the school psychologist to learn to extend his functioning, to serve greater numbers of children, it is of supreme importance in large cities. This is, of course, complicated by the fact that in large cities, as elsewhere, there are certain mandatory functions for the school psychologists. Testing for special class placement is the most typical and most time-consuming of the mandatory functions. And the slums will bring large quotas to be tested and re-tested for such placement.

With current staff and resources the problem seems almost insoluble. But there is hope for the future. A ground swell of concern for the problem of urban youth seems in the early sixties, at the time of this writing, to be reaching almost tidal wave proportions. Thus we have the interest of the Ford and other foundations in the Great Cities Improvement Project (Riessman, 1962, p. 98). Much of the emphasis of the National Defense Education Act centers around providing guidance for youth, including the culturally deprived. A wide concern with the in-migration of southern highlanders, southern Negroes, Puerto Ricans, and other persons from depressed areas is evident in the large northern cities. Surely these concerns will be reflected in new educational patterns and in the provision of increased personnel. We may hope that the additional staff members will include psychologists.

THE DEPRIVED CHILD. The third problem, that of adequate provisions for the culturally disadvantaged, has been touched upon in the preceding paragraph. The plight of the culturally deprived is so widely spread, so deeply embedded in the whole life of the great cities of the sixties, that it is folly to hope that psychologists alone can do much to alleviate the situation. There are ways, however, in which they can help with the more immediate problems in providing appropriate educational opportunities for children from depressed areas.

One such way is in serving as interpreter to the school staff of what such youngsters are like, the values they hold, their social and cognitive development, their general attitudes toward school. Where a school has no sociologist or anthropologist on its staff—

and this includes most schools—the psychologist is probably in the best position to be knowledgeable about such things as the influence of social class upon attitudes toward achievement, the impact of certain family constellations upon children's development, particular ethnic backgrounds as they affect child and parent in attitude and behavior.

As is well known, teachers are usually from middle class backgrounds (National Education Association, 1950, pp. 51-127). And as Allison Davis (1948) pointed out some years ago, the typical middle class values of punctuality, neatness, cleanliness, and, above all, a profound respect for school achievement may have little meaning to slum youngsters. To be sure, this is old stuff in education circles. But like other ideas that have been around a while, it needs continual reinterpretation to teachers, who find it all too easy to forget.

The psychologist may find it possible to move beyond such interpreting to the providing of suggestions as to how the teacher might work productively with such youngsters. For example, Zigler and Kanzer (1961) found, in a comparison of lower and middle class youngsters, that learning was facilitated in the middle class youngsters by telling them that a response was "right" or "correct." They were less influenced by being told that a given response was "good." The lower class children reversed this; for them learning was improved by saying "good, that's fine," to a given response; "right" or "correct" had less reward value. Surely such a finding has implication for how a primary teacher might work with slum youngsters in contradistinction to the more favored ones with whom she is familiar.

Yet another illustration. Whiting and his colleagues (Burton & Whiting, 1961) have found definite relationships between the sex role development of the child and the composition of his family. In the mother-child family, with no father present, the male child seems to have pervasive problems associated with the question of defining an appropriate sex role. The mother-child family is of course far more typical of the slum culture. And as Blood and Wolf (1960) have pointed out, the picture of the slum household, even where the father is physically present, usually is one in which the male has abdicated his parental role. Again we have

a finding with import for those who would understand the small and the large boy from the slums.

Examples could be multiplied. These perhaps suffice to point out that much knowledge is already available to workers in the field—although not readily accessible to teachers—with direct implication for working with culturally deprived youngsters.

The greatly heightened interest in the culturally deprived carries with it another suggestion for the school psychologist. Concern for the problem is pervasive and prodigious. Unfortunately, however, in common with many other school problems of an urgent nature, this interest has spent itself chiefly in demonstration projects and innovations in practice. Research has been conspicuous by its paucity. Many projects have been launched, but there has been far too little attempt to build in sober and rigorous evaluation of the innovations put into action.

Developmental psychologists have produced a large amount of reasearch bearing upon the problem in terms of isolating variables relevant to the performance of the culturally deprived in school. What is needed now, however, is far more attention to the manipulation in school settings of these variables that relate to the deficit of the culturally deprived. Careful measurement is also necessary. School psychologists can make a major contribution to the problem by helping to build into such projects the kind of evaluation that will make it possible to assess, with some degree of precision, the effects of the proposed changes.

THE IMPACT OF THE URBAN ENVIRONMENT ON THE CHILD. There is an old saying that it is against the law to be a child in New York City. The spontaneous, free-roaming, exploratory, boisterous behavior of the healthy child finds little outlet in crowded apartments and no less crowded streets. The quality of life can be very different from that of the small midwestern town described by Barker and Wright (1954). Children are free to roam the surrounding fields, to scuffle, and to yell, with little adult interference or supervision. It is a safe environment, where everyone knows, and in a large measure trusts, everyone else. It is an environment where persons from infancy on participate in the bulk of the community activities; everyone, from babes in

arms to octogenarians, comes to the church service or the Grange picnic. But it is also an environment of limited opportunity for adolescent and adult. The psychological ecology of the small town, as described by Barker, can by contrast contribute to a heightened understanding of the influence of the city setting upon the total experience of children.

Many other aspects of urban life of significance to the psychologists in the schools could be explored. It is hoped that those discussed will serve to point out some of the most apparent problems, and to suggest to the reader the importance of understanding the characteristics of urban life if one is to work with city children and their teachers.

Suburbs

As the gray areas around the city become more dingy, people begin to move even farther into the suburbs. Poorer people move into the vacated houses, and so it goes. Thus, today we find typically that middle income persons, and even many with lower incomes, are moving away from the cities. Urban renewal and other plans for redevelopment may help to reverse this, but it remains a powerful trend.

Suburbs have been with us a long time. Even Ur of Chaldees (Mumford, 1961, p. 483) had its suburbs. The modern suburb, however, as something more than a retreat for the wealthy, is of more recent origin. As Handlin (1961) points out in an issue of *Daedalus* devoted to the topic of "The Future Metropolis," the modern suburb came into being along with the industrial growth of the late eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries. Its origin seems to have been centered around the yearning for a stable family life in an orderly community. Where the population, as it did in most places, had rural antecedents, it looked for this stability in a rural setting. It was a possible solution for the city worker only if the income from one wage earner was sufficient to support the family, a condition usually not true of wage earners during this period. And it was possible only in close proximity to the city. Thus, then as now, the suburb.

As Handlin indicates, life in the suburbs was difficult in the

last century. Comfortable suburban life depended on money, transportation facilities, and upon the finding of places of residence for those of common background and interest.

The great increase in material prosperity since World War II has meant that far more persons than ever before have aspired to be homesteaders and have moved out of the cities. Thus, the once small suburbs are becoming the dominant pattern of American life.

What are the dimensions of suburban life most germane to the school psychologist's interest?

THE HOMOGENEITY OF SUBURBS. Dodson (1960), in a look at suburbs as they influence school psychological services, has made a telling comparison of the suburbs ringing New York City. He has pointed out the homogeneity of these suburbs in terms of economic level, ethnic background, and even "family stage." He gives the illustration of Levittown, New York, which in the seven years from 1947 to 1954 grew from a few square miles of potato fields to a town with 45,000 population. In 1954 there were 12,500 children in school—there had been only 36 seven years before—and there were more preschool children than those in schools. The fathers were all young GIs beginning their families; their incomes were all approximately the same. All their houses were similar, with two bedrooms and an expansion attic. There was no older generation around. In this community, full of little children, the situation must have been like that once told to the writer by a man who had spent his early years of marriage in a suburb as homogeneous as Levittown with respect to family stage: "In our town, when the first child on the block had chicken pox, or broke his arm, it was as if it were the first time the event had ever happened in the whole world." Levittown has changed its composition since 1954, to be sure, but other communities have taken its place.

As contrast to this town, Dodson presents Bethpage, New York. Houses are a little more expensive here. Moving into this community becomes a symbol of upward mobility. So those who are further along—and their children slightly older—move here. Again income and family stage are homogeneous.

Another type of suburb, of which Dodson gives an example, is

that inhabited by what he calls the "nomads of industry," the junior executives of national companies, on their way up, and with little chance to put down roots in any one place. Here we find expensive homes with high re-sale value, good community services, good schools of an academic type. With residence only temporary, there is little involvement with local concerns.

The picture emerges then of suburban living as being the most segregated existence that occurs on a wide scale in our country today. The socioeconomic—and often ethnic—lines drawn are very fine. Neither parents nor children have much opportunity to associate with any except their own kind, in terms of age, of money, and even of ethnic and social background.

Lewis Mumford (1961) calls the modern suburbs "green ghettos," and paints a dismal picture indeed of the midcentury suburb:

... A multitude of uniform, unidentifiable houses, lined up inflexibly, at uniform distances, on uniform roads, in a treeless communal waste, inhabited by persons of the same class, the same income, the same age group, witnessing the same television performances, eating the same tasteless prefabricated food, from the same freezers, conforming in every outward and inward respect to the common mold, manufactured in the central metropolis (p. 486).

Other writers may not be so polemical as Mumford, but the striking homogeneity and segregated nature of the suburbs is generally recognized.

Dodson (1960) points out that suburban life is also fragmented in other ways. Part of this results from political boundaries that seem without plan or forethought. It is common in the suburbs to be in one school district, another fire district, another utility district. This pervasive problem of Megalopolis militates against the establishment of a community with a continuing identification. The successive movement from prosperous to yet more prosperous suburb, as one climbs up the socioeconomic ladder, heightens this lack of community, in terms of common shared concerns.

PARENTAL ROLES IN THE SUBURBAN COMMUNITY. Seeley (1956), among others, has stressed the female domination of the suburbs,

or rather the world without men that the suburb represents in its weekday phase. It is a commonplace today that the suburban children's picture of "what Daddies do" in the old game of playing house is to pick up a brief case, say goodbye, and head for a destination known only as "the office." To be sure, such suburban homes are far cries from the mother-child families with which Whiting is concerned. But such absences of the father from early morning until evening must have direct impact upon the child as well as secondary consequences from the effects upon his mother and the particular role she is called upon to fulfill with the father's absence. Brim (1960), for example, suggests that the modern executive, who is expected to be dominant, autonomous, and creative in his occupational role, may on returning home in the evening show himself as docile and dependent in family affairs. Here is a picture of wealthier suburbia or even exurbia, where such executives, at least those with families, typically live.

But one should bear in mind, however, that of all the suburb's aspects, the one of most immediate influence upon the schools is the motivation sending people to the suburbs. The demand for stable family life and better opportunities for growing children is characteristic. This means that suburban parents will be tremendously interested in the schools; they will be willing to spend both time and money on the school's behalf; they will also make considerable demands upon the schools. Suburban schools will tend to be well supported financially. This is not invariably true because of differences in tax structure. The absence of business and industrial concerns to tax will mean that in certain suburbs school money is relatively meager. But the general situation may be seen by examining the ratio of personnel to pupils in the New York suburbs. Here Conant (1961, p. 3) states that the average in the New York suburbs is 60 professionals per 1000 school children, and that in many such suburbs there will be 70 staff members for this number. In such schools it is not uncommon to find one psychologist for every 1000 to 2000 children.

THE IMPORTANCE OF COLLEGE ATTENDANCE. Conant (1961) believes that the dominant theme of suburban parents' lives with respect to the schools is getting their children into college—that this concern pervades the life of the school from kindergarten on.

Certainly, an amazing number of children from the wealthier suburbs do attend college. For example, in the suburban schools that Conant selects—including such ones as the Evanston, Illinois, Township High School, the Great Neck, Long Island, High School, and those of Newton, Massachusetts—virtually 100 per cent of the children with IQs of 130 or better go on to college. Even among those with IQs of from 90 to 104, hardly college material by most standards, over half the boys and a third of the girls go on to college.

The determination of suburban parents that their children, especially their sons, should go to college, and particularly to the selective colleges of the eastern seaboard, may permeate their approach to the whole life of the schools. Thus it has an impact upon school board elections, the choice of a superintendent, the curriculum, and other facets of school. It has direct impact, as well, on the children.

The writer knows of a large and relatively wealthy suburban community where the school psychologists refer to a certain presenting picture of child disorder as the "Zone L syndrome." Zone L is a school division serving a community made up of persons such as those Dodson describes as the nomads of industry. The area is peopled by junior executives clearly upward mobile. The pattern of reading disability, dislike for school, and general feelings of inadequacy making up the "Zone L syndrome" is found most frequently in boys around nine or ten years old. These boys are average in intelligence but no more. Each has an older sister who is bright and successful in school. It is not hard to sketch in a picture of parental expectations, increasing family tensions as the boy fails to make the progress so unreasonably expected, and the repercussions upon the child himself.

The term *Lighthouse School* has been applied in education to the sort of school so well equipped, so well run, as those Conant is describing. Education in this country has looked to such high schools and to their elementary counterparts for leadership. Conant suggests that this leadership is not always realistic (in terms of an emphasis upon college for all youngsters) nor is it necessarily appropriate to situations less favored with levels of parental education and financial standing.

SOME IMPLICATIONS FOR THE SCHOOL PSYCHOLOGIST. We shall now look for a moment at the particular aspects of suburbia that directly impinge upon the functioning of the psychologists in the schools. These have been implicit in the preceding paragraphs.

First is the matter of the ratio of professional personnel to children. Generally speaking the suburban school will be in a favored position. This means that the school psychologist within his immediate school system will not confront the manpower problem so directly as will his large-city or his small-town counterpart.

Yet, in another way, he will have to face the manpower situation. This comes from the rapid expansion of the suburban schools. The problem is eternally one of recruiting and training new staff. And this problem is present from the administrative officers down to the classroom teacher. As an illustration, we might look at the schools of Montgomery County, Maryland, a suburban school district just outside Washington. In 1960 there were approximately 75,000 children in the school system. There was a professional staff of nearly 3,100 persons. Six thousand new children had been added during the year past. The building program was of such magnitude that they added a new classroom on the average of one each day (Superintendent of Schools, Montgomery County, 1960). The almost frenetic activity that must go into maintaining a program to keep pace with such population growth cannot fail to have its consequences in the life of the schools.

The given character of the suburb may also shape the functioning of the school psychologist through the particular concerns parents bring to the schools. Emphasis on academic achievement has already been mentioned. Some suburbs may press the school psychologist toward a primarily clinical role. This is more apt to be true of suburbs where parents are accustomed to private psychiatric and psychological services for themselves. Others will demand services for special groups.

Most of all, the psychologist in the suburban schools will find that the school is a matter of central concern to parents; they are willing to spend time and money in its behalf. True, Conant has suggested that the suburban schools are not always realistic in

the programs provided for all children. Dodson has pointed out that the life of the suburban school may be antiseptic, uncontaminated by life from without the suburbs. Yet the suburban schools probably remain the finest examples of what money and intelligence can do to provide good schooling for the youth of our country.

So much for a picture of some of the broad aspects of urbanized community life today. The school psychologist certainly needs to know much more of the community structure than these pages have provided; we shall hope that at least this first section of the present chapter has documented the importance of such knowledge for him. It will now be our task to examine some dimensions of the power structure of the community; we will then go on to look at various community groups that in one way or another must become the school psychologist's concern.

POWER STRUCTURE OF THE COMMUNITY

We will start this section with the assumption that the school psychologist is interested in change. Although he is hardly in a position to build a new social order singlehanded, he must—if he is interested in making himself, and psychology, more broadly useful to the schools—concern himself with change. He must find ways of enlisting new sources of help, ways of altering those procedures and attitudes that may hinder the application of psychology in the school. To do this, he must acquaint himself with the power structure not only of the schools but also of the community. The power structure of the schools is relatively formal and determined by the organizational chart; that of the community is generally informal, more complex, less clearly structured. It demands careful study by anyone who would wish to work effectively with community groups.

Let us start with a definition of community power. We can probably do no better here than to quote Max Weber (1947, p. 152): “‘Power’ (*Macht*) is the probability that one actor within a social relationship will be in a position to carry out his own will

despite resistance, regardless of the basis on which this probability rests."

Weber is thus concerned with the potential of persons in certain situations to make or influence decisions and to take actions that influence the lives of others in their community.

The Sources of Power

The old picture of the source of power in communities is that of economic dominance. As Schulze (1961) points out, American culture, with a business-oriented set of values, has viewed economic power as a legitimate basis for social and political power; he who pays the piper may call the tune. In the twentieth century, however, this view may be too simple. Schulze suggests that we might view power in terms of what appear to be two preeminent values of American community life: (1) maintaining the community as an economic system that provides for the physical needs of its members, and (2) maintaining the community as a sociopolitical system that provides an opportunity for its members to organize their personal lives and develop a sense of identification and belonging. With this as a basis, Schulze goes on to postulate two kinds of power positions in a community: those of the economic dominants, with the greatest potential of control over maintaining the local economic system; and those of the public leaders, with the greatest capacity to exercise control over the local sociopolitical system. This view of community power structure is one in which Schulze attempts to utilize and relate three approaches to power familiar to sociologists, those of the Lynds (1937), Lasswell (1953), and Warner and Lunt (1951).

In isolated and self-contained communities one would expect considerable overlap, the persons in an economically dominant position being also the ones with the greatest power in the sociopolitical life of a community. However, as communities become more involved in the larger units of metropolitan groupings, and in state, regional, and even national structures, the power structure tends to bifurcate. There thus develop two power sets with little overlap, the economic dominants and the public leaders.

THE ROLE OF URBANIZATION. Chiefly responsible for such bifurcation is increasing urbanization. As urbanization grows, the local

community usually loses its control over the industrial base of its economic system. This is the picture of the large economic organizations linked one to another in areas beyond the community. An optimal setup for such bifurcation would be that of a small city which is satellite to a much larger one. Schulze therefore investigates one such city of 20,000, close to a large industrial city and dependent upon large corporations from outside the community for its economic life. Here he finds little overlap between the economic dominants, defined as those with key positions in industry and financial concerns, and those who are perceived in the community as their public leaders.

As Schulze is careful to point out, Hunter (1953), in a sizable southern town, and Miller (1958), in a large far-western city, did not find the same withdrawal of the economic dominants from the life of the community. These writers were, however, dealing with central cities of metropolitan areas. It would appear that the sort of community Schulze is describing is on the increase.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE PUBLIC LEADER. Clearly the power figures with whom the school psychologist must concern himself are primarily the public leaders. One of Schulze's striking findings was the shallow community roots of the economic dominants. In fact, local involvement in things even remotely controversial often seemed contrary to corporation policy. The reverse, of course, was true with the public leaders. Particularly striking here was the participation of such individuals in community affairs; 94 percent of those perceived in their community as leaders had held office in city, county, or state governments. None of those from absentee-owned firms had held local office. The picture of community participation pervaded the life of the public leaders. Nine tenths of them had served as president of at least one local association; nearly half were president of one such organization at the time of Schulze's survey. Conspicuous also was the finding of closeknit interpersonal relationships among public leaders; typically they listed other public leaders as close personal friends, or as friends. The economic dominants were much more distant from one another, some not even knowing each other—in a town of 20,000!

A study by Katz and Lazarsfeld (1955) of personal influence

sheds additional light on the characteristics of public leaders. These two writers were concerned with personal influence in several areas of opinion, one of which was that of public affairs. Katz and Lazarsfeld's respondents were women in all cities between 50,000 and 80,000 in seven midwestern states. All cities that were suburban or near suburban were eliminated. This makes an interesting contrast with Schulze's study of a smaller and urban-dominated community. Findings, however, do not conflict, but to some extent bear one another out. Katz and Lazarsfeld found that two characteristics distinguished the public-affairs opinion leaders. One was social status, perhaps related to economic dominance; that is, the better educated and wealthier women seemed to live in a climate that favored greater participation in public affairs. An even more important factor, however, was that of gregariousness, which Katz and Lazarsfeld believe is the major key to leadership in public affairs. The leaders were the ones who got around.

This finding of the salience of gregariousness may remind one of the dictum of the old politician in C. P. Snow's novel: "Never be too proud or too tired to be present." In fact, there is probably no better—if somewhat devastating—introduction to the whole concept of power and the power structure in action than that to be found in C. P. Snow's novel cycle, *Strangers and Brothers*. Snow has taken power on many levels and in many groups as one of the two central themes of this series of novels.

Identifying the Power Structure

The psychologist in the schools will have as his immediate concern the power structure of the particular community in which he works. Some general knowledge of community power structure will be valuable in terms of showing him where to look. But each community is idiosyncratic enough that he must search for the structure of his own particular setting. How is he to find this out? In an informal way his general approach might be similar to that employed by researchers in the field. Since public leaders enjoy their position because of reputation, then one must find out that reputation. One talks to persons in the community who, one thinks, have some reason to be knowledgeable about

the situation. One asks questions about important issues that have arisen in the community of a sociopolitical nature, questions about how the issues were resolved, and what roles were taken in this resolution by various individuals in the community. One finds out which persons hold office in the government, which ones serve as officers of local associations. If Schulze's findings have generality, one will find that individuals high in the public-affairs power structure will be one's best informants, because of the closeknit nature of the public leader group.

Having identified the public leaders in a community, one would need, so it appears on the commonsense level, to go on to identify the areas of particular concern and of disinterest for those individuals. Mr. Hoskins, high in the power structure, may have little interest in provisions for handicapped children in the schools; he considers it an indication of school pampering. On the other hand, Mr. Morrison, who has a mentally defective granddaughter, may be deeply concerned with special classes for the retarded. Mr. Bronson may be keenly aware of the need to provide a larger school budget; he knows of the influence of good school situations in attracting superior types of industry to his community. Mr. Hamilton cannot see beyond the importance of paring down this year's school budget to avoid raising taxes.

If one may generalize somewhat gratuitously from Katz and Lazarsfeld's study of personal influence, one might also expect to find that opinion leadership will differ in terms of the particular areas with which one is concerned. These investigators, for instance, found that opinion leadership in fashion was accorded to the young unmarried women in the community, community leadership in consumer goods to women with large families. There is a suggestion here that such leadership accords with a perception of individuals as being in a position to hold an expert opinion. The same is true to some extent of the findings already mentioned concerning leadership in opinion on public affairs.

AN ILLUSTRATIVE CASE: MOBILIZING FOR MENTAL HEALTH. As an illustration of the use of some understanding of the power structure of the community, we shall take the founding of a mental health association in a community of about the size Schulze describes. This was, however, a city somewhat freer from urban

domination than Schulze's. The psychological staff in the schools was concerned with the lack of referral sources in the community for children who needed psychotherapy or more extended diagnostic work than the school could provide. A first step seemed to be that of arousing community interest in the possibility. In the beginning the two psychologists were concerned with keeping themselves in the background and working informally toward the stimulation of interest in the idea. With considerable help from a member of the social welfare staff of the community, who had also felt the lack of such referral sources, about a dozen individuals were selected to form a group to discuss the situation. These were persons who would presumably be perceived in the community as being knowledgeable about the need for such resources and about their development, and who also enjoyed considerable prestige in the community. Thus a prominent local physician, the director of the county welfare agency, the public health officer, the school superintendent, the chief psychologist from a nearby mental hospital, a local judge, a probation officer, the president of the local PTA, and a minister began meeting monthly with the two psychologists. In the early stages of meeting, the psychologists were able to provide information concerning the feasibility of such services; the community leaders were able to provide evidence for the need from their own professional viewpoints, and to suggest the likelihood of community acceptance. The usual problems were met of a certain amount of backbiting and obstruction, some lack of interest, considerable discouragement. One thing began to emerge—the need for a much broadened support for the idea of mental health facilities and a much greater understanding among community members at large. A mental health center is a highly expensive operation for a town of 20,000 and could hardly be made possible without a large measure of community goodwill and financial backing.

One of the group suggested that part of their difficulty was the lack of any organized way to approach the problem, and of any readily identifiable group to whom one might look for concern with the situation. This led directly to the suggestion to form a mental health association in affiliation with the National Association for Mental Health as a major first step. At about this time

an evaluation group from one of the White House Regional Conferences had pointed out the conspicuous lack of such an association in this community. The combination of pressures spurred the local group to promote the formation of a community mental health association. And so it was organized. Officers were elected; regular meetings were held open to the public; newspaper publicity was given. This was only one step in the psychologist's ultimate concern in developing a mental health center. But it was a big stride forward in terms of focusing the interest of the public leaders of the community upon mental health. How soon a mental health center will be forthcoming is something else again; at least the community is alerted to the need and has a vehicle through which it can promote the meeting of that need.

PARENT-TEACHER ASSOCIATIONS

Few would be so rash as to quarrel with the statement that parents are the most potent single influence upon the child's personal, social, and even educational development. Parent-teacher associations had their beginning at the end of the nineteenth century because of the realization of the importance of parents to a child's success in school (Ojemann, 1960). The National Congress of Parents and Teachers, of which most associations are members, took its present form in the early years of this century. The organization now numbers some twelve million members.

The stated objects of the National Congress are (National Congress of Parents and Teachers, 1961):

- To promote the welfare of children and youth in home, school, church and community.

- To raise the standards of home life.

- To secure adequate laws for the care and protection of children and youth.

- To bring into closer relationship the home and the school, that parents and teachers may cooperate intelligently in the training of the child.

- To develop between educators and the general public such united efforts as will secure for every child the highest advantages in physical, mental, social, and spiritual education.

High-sounding objectives such as these are sometimes—like those of many other national organizations—more rhetorical than actual. Still, behind such pronouncements one finds an abiding interest in the welfare of children—even if upon occasion its only manifestation may be to come to meetings to make one's own child happy because his room can win the PTA banner for the month.

The PTA, where the psychologist is not concerned directly with the parents of an individual child, can be his best bridge to working with parents. Thus, he needs to examine the aspects of PTA organization and procedure most germane to his work.

The school psychologist can be sure that he will be called upon to speak to his local PTA. As in speaking to civic clubs, it is probably foolish for the psychologist to hope that he can effect much in the way of behavior change by speaking to a general meeting. He can give the group a chance to size him up, to decide that he is approachable, that he has some measure of understanding, that he is interested in the welfare of children, even perhaps that he is entertaining. Beyond this, probably not much will be accomplished, other than winning the gratitude of the program chairman for filling an empty slot. This is no reflection on PTA groups; it simply mirrors the fact that public lectures are seldom appropriate vehicles for change.

A number of years ago Holbeck (1934) recommended that there should be greater elasticity and flexibility in the programs of local PTA groups, that they should emphasize the education of parents, and that they should use study groups as a major way of working. This is still good counsel. In working with small study groups the psychologist may have considerable impact, and actually lead parents to change in their attitudes and behavior towards their children and towards the school their children attend. True, working with individual parents may have even more influence. A small group is often a compromise between the manpower situation and the most effective modes of procedure for the individual.

The *National Parent-Teacher*, or *PTA Magazine*, each month carries discussion guides for PTA study groups. These are usually organized around articles in the particular issue of the magazine

in which they appear, and are developed by recognized authorities in the field. Three such guides appear each month, for pre-school, for elementary school, and for adolescent groups. These guides can be helpful. The psychologist may also direct attention, however, to more specific interest groups, concerns that grow out of problems the members share. There are parents of gifted children and of retarded ones, parents with children physically advanced or physically immature. There are parents whose first child is just entering school, others who want to know about the school testing program. There are parents who worry about too many—or too few—out-of-school activities for their children. There are many situations where parents want support and understanding from those who share a common problem. Not all of these are areas in which the school psychologist has anything to contribute; many of them, however, touch upon his competencies.

As anyone knows who has ever worked effectively with a study group of parents, such meetings often come close to group therapy. Parents, like everyone else, are people with problems; what brings them to such study groups is often the hope of finding help. In sharing the problem with others and finding that one's situation is not unique, but part of our common humanity and parenthood, one may find release and even new direction and confidence. It is because of the therapeutic aspects of such group meetings that the psychologist may have much to contribute. In addition, many of the topics which such groups may select for discussion will be at least partially in his bailiwick of special knowledge.

There is another way in which psychologists can be of service through the PTA. This is in the area of program planning. As parents of growing children, the central concern of many such groups will be that of learning more about human development. The school psychologist will often be the person working in the schools who has the readiest access to materials upon this topic. To the extent that he is familiar with lay treatments of human development in books, magazines, pamphlets, and films, he can be of major help to a program chairman who may herself have little knowledge of the field or of where to go for help.

But working with the PTA means not only giving service; it also means receiving service. PTA members, with their personal investment in the schools, are persons to whom one may look for help in meeting many of the nonacademic needs of the schools. In many places this aid is almost exclusively financial. The PTA circus, bazaar, or bake sale may represent the bulk of participation of some members of such groups. Such endeavors are, of course, helpful, although not always as advantageous financially as they appear at first blush. Anyone who has struggled to make an elaborate cake that goes for two dollars at the PTA sale knows what profit one makes with the current price of butter and eggs—or even cake mix.

But PTA's can and often do make contributions to the schools of a far more important nature. As concerned citizens they have a major voice in the election of the school boards, thus indirectly—or even directly—a voice in school policy, in curriculum change, in the provision of special services. They can provide time and financial support for school improvement. If the school psychologist is to be so fortunate as to work in a place where the parents' groups are articulate, active, and motivated to improve the schools, he is indeed blessed, for he will find no better help as he, along with the rest of the school staff, works toward improving the schools and what they have to offer to children.

THE SCHOOL BOARD

The school board is a legal agent of the state. Its powers, both mandatory and discretionary, are defined by state code. The powers that boards of education have generally are these: to enter into contracts, to acquire property, to levy taxes, to disperse funds of the school district, to employ teachers, to enact changes in the curriculum, and, in broad terms, to control and direct school affairs (Bretsch, 1960). Thus, the school board runs the schools. Any school psychologist who would function in some of the ways suggested in this book should familiarize himself with the nature of school boards in general and of his own board in particular.

Some Characteristics of School Boards

In most states, forty-two in all (and including 95 percent of school boards of the nation), board members are elected wholly or in part by popular vote. In thirty-two of these states, members are elected on a nonpartisan basis (Hall, 1957). Nomination for office is generally by petition or by individual announcement. The average number of members of a board of education is five. The majority are elected for terms of from three to six years.

School board members tend to have more years of formal education than the general public, as one would expect. Whalen (1953) found in eleven midwestern states that the average number of years of formal school was in excess of fifteen years. Their income level was relatively high as compared to the district at large; they tended to be in their late forties; nearly two thirds of them had children in school. From 10 to 15 percent of the board members were women. Neal Gross (1958), in a study of the majority of school boards (97 percent) in Massachusetts, also found that their board members were above average in education, that the mean age was in the late forties, and that the majority had children in school.

THE MOTIVATIONS OF SCHOOL BOARD MEMBERS. Why do people run for election to a school board? This is a question of more than academic interest. Gross has collected data which indicate that variations in motives for running for school board election are related to differences in adherence to professional standards of school board operations. Gross asked both board members and their superintendents why the board members in question had run for office. It would hardly be surprising if stated motives were not the whole story. Where one has congruence between motives as stated by the board member and by his superintendent, however, one may view stated reasons with a certain amount of trust. In general, Gross's respondents showed a close correspondence between motives listed by board member and by superintendent. The motives most frequently listed were these (Gross, 1958):

1. Felt it to be a civic duty (80 percent of board members, 64 percent of superintendents.

2. Wanted to represent a certain group in the community (26 percent board members, 29 percent superintendents).
3. Disapproved of way schools were run (20 percent board members, 8 percent superintendents).
4. Wanted to increase school expenditures (12 percent board members, 7 percent superintendents).
5. Wanted to gain experience in politics (9 percent board members, 21 percent superintendents) (p. 73).

Gross, for purposes of analysis, selects three of these motives. The first, to run as a civic duty, he classifies as "good motivation." Running to represent a special group, and running to gain political experience, he classifies as "bad motivation" from the standpoint of primary concern with the welfare of schools and school children. His other categories he considers ambiguous.

Interestingly enough, Gross does find some correlates of "good" and "bad" motivation in his study of the characteristics and practices of school boards. Also striking are his findings that many factors we have assumed might relate to the personal-influence versus public-duty dimension are not relevant. For example, he did not find differences in this respect among social classes, among communities of different sizes, in industrial and residential communities, in communities where superintendents had different measures of prestige. Income and level of education were not related. "Good" and "bad" motivations, however, did show differences in relation to age, and presence or absence of children in school. More older members were well motivated, as were more persons with children in the schools. Political activity was also related, the more politically active being less likely to be well motivated. Religious affiliation also showed some relationship, the situation here being in part related to concerns with parochial schools.

ADHERENCE TO PROFESSIONAL STANDARDS. Another relevant finding of Gross's is that of the characteristics of board members in systems where the boards tended to adhere to professional standards. Such standards are defined in terms of twelve school board practices on which there is high agreement among superintendents as to their desirability. In general these are "administrative"

practices, such as “taking full responsibility for its decisions and appointing only teachers nominated by the superintendent.” The only relationships which Gross uncovered in this inquiry were that board members whom he termed well motivated tended to adhere to professional standards, and that adherence to professional standards increased with the level of educational attainment.

In brief, the picture is one of the more effective school board members being those who had a personal stake in the schools, who ran because they considered it a civic duty, who themselves had a relatively high level of education—and *who were willing to run for office and were then elected*. As Gross points out, his findings hold only for those persons who became candidates and were subsequently elected to board membership.

Controversial Issues for School Boards and Superintendents

In the chapter on school personnel it was pointed out that the school superintendent is often a middleman caught between the school board's view of the way schools should be run and the view of the school personnel, opinions that are by no means always congruent. Gross's study sheds some light upon this issue, if we can assume that the superintendent's views are more likely to mirror the beliefs of his staff. This assumption is probably justified since both he and his staff to some degree reflect the points of view of professional education. Gross asked a series of controversial questions, many of which appear to relate to educational traditionalism or progressivism. Some of his findings are presented on page 240 (1958, pp. 113–125).

The five issues are selected from the dozen Gross used to point two things: (1) there do appear to be some issues on which there is considerable difference of opinion, and (2) one cannot second guess the school board members of Massachusetts. Most persons would assume that an answer “Yes” to the first three questions indicates educational traditionalism and would predict that school boards would have been more conservative than superintendents. But these same persons would probably also predict that the school boards would have answered “No” in greater numbers than superintendents to the last two questions.

| <i>Practice</i> | <i>Percent saying practice is desirable</i> | |
|--|---|----------------------|
| | <i>Superintendents</i> | <i>Board members</i> |
| In the first six grades pupils must meet specified academic standards to be promoted | 51 | 84 |
| Numerical grades should be given on regular report cards in the first six grades | 9 | 53 |
| Different salaries should be paid to elementary and high school teachers | 7 | 32 |
| There should be federal aid to education for school building | 74 | 73 |
| There should be a sex education program in the high school | 67 | 67 |

When it comes to questions of consensus on matters of the respective rights of superintendent and board, Gross found sharper disagreements. Of his superintendents 70 percent believed the board should employ teachers only on the nomination of the superintendent (this is the legal procedure in Massachusetts); only 20 percent of the school board members believed this. On textbooks 90 percent of the superintendents feel the school board should accept the recommendation of the superintendent in all cases; only 50 percent of board members agreed. Similar disagreements were found in relation to use of school property by community groups, dismissal of teachers, and recommendations for salary increases for school system employees.

What we may infer from data such as these is that school boards and superintendents—as Gross points out—are not agreed on what is administration and what is policy making, on who is to do what. It is little wonder that the relationship between superintendent and school board is sometimes an uneasy one.

Some Implications for the School Psychologist

How does all this relate to the work of the school psychologist? Mostly, it is a matter of giving him additional perspective on the

setting in which he works. It is easy to form distorted pictures of school boards from conspicuous and sometimes egregious examples. It is also easy to fear and resent the power that school boards have, particularly where the superintendent and school board have not formed a satisfactory working relationship.

And, in addition, some grasp of school boards in general should assist the psychologist in obtaining a better understanding of the school board under which he operates. This is particularly important in the matter of communication with school board members. In most school systems there are times when it is important to interpret to the school board the functions of the psychological services for a school system, the need for additional personnel, equipment, space, and the like. The writer knows one school psychologist who had to appear before the school board to justify his need for a calculator in his statistical work. In addition, where the school psychologist may not be in direct communication with the school board, such knowledge may help him as he prepares materials for his superintendent.

The school psychologist as an educational staff member, as a citizen, and frequently as a parent of school children, also might concern himself with the question of electing board members and of improving the functioning of school boards. Gross's study has suggested that in many board members the admitted motivations in running for office were somewhat questionable. Furthermore, persons elected with the most praiseworthy of motives may be entirely ignorant of the responsibilities and powers of school boards. An occasional school board member, usually a woman, has been a teacher, but a more typical background is business and the professions (Bretsch, 1960). Consultant services, published materials, and in-service training for board members are hardly the province of the school psychologist. As a citizen and a participant in the educational enterprise, however, he should lend what support he can to the selection of the strongest possible board and to the provision of opportunities for it to realize its potential as the group which can through, and with, its superintendent set the character and level of excellence of the schools of a district.

THE LOCAL PRESS

Few psychologists would place serving as public relations officer for their schools high on a list of preferred functions. There is no reason why they should. Still, there will be times when they, as other persons in the schools, will have contacts with the press. Since the press seems to be somewhat influenced by popular stereotypes of psychologists as mind readers and head-shrinkers, they do well to consider the problem of maintaining optimal relations with the local press of their communities.

In 1956 the New England School Development Council published a pamphlet, *The Schools and the Press* (Gross, 1956), which reported a study of relationships between school administrators and newspaper men in the area served by the council. This study indicated little dissatisfaction of an extreme sort among educators and newspapermen over school-press relationships. Some of their findings, however, concerning dissatisfactions and disagreements are relevant.

Newspaper Coverage of School Topics

According to superintendents, the most adequate coverage was given to school athletics, school board activities, superintendent's activities, and student activities. In each of these cases superintendents considered coverage very or fairly adequate. Coverage was considered less adequate for school personnel, and least adequate for the school program, where only 50 percent considered coverage fairly or very adequate. When the superintendents were asked to evaluate the accuracy of the reporting the same ranking occurred, with school athletics being considered as reported most accurately and school program as least so. In ranking the importance of school news areas, both superintendents and newspaper men placed school program at next to the top of the list, preceded only by school board activities. Both groups also placed athletics at the bottom of the list. Unfortunately, both groups, in all-too-firm contact with reality, placed athletics at the top of their list of "newsworthy" material, and school program in fifth or sixth place of the six items ranked.

There is a lesson in this for the school psychologist. His concerns

in school news will probably be with the school program. Superintendents and the press consider it most important. Yet they have either found out, or fear, that it will be lacking in interest to the public.

In Gross's study, the newspapermen's chief grievances were the quality of news releases from the schools and the difficulty of obtaining information from the schools. Much of this probably stems from the fact that in only two of every five school systems contacted was there any organized procedure of collecting school news and releasing it to the press. Superintendents saw as their major problem in this area their own lack of time or the lack of assistance to do the job properly.

Improving School-Newspaper Relationships

Undoubtedly both schools and newspapers need to improve their relationships in the interest of more adequate and more accurate coverage of school news. This is expressed in a quotation given by Gross (1956) from the 1955 Harvard Educational Reporting Conference: "Education is a big story. It has high readership. It concerns all children, and therefore all parents. It consumes a large part of our tax dollar. It is a generally neglected story that needs competent reporting."

If we look at such findings as they relate to the psychologist in the schools, the writer sees at least two implications. The first of these is the importance of working on the preparation of news releases. Much of the inaccurate information in news coverage is the result of nothing more than that a reporter had to trust to somewhat hurried notes. If the basic facts in a news story are given to him in written form he is much more likely to present these facts accurately. If his report is sometimes biased, it is not always because the newspaperman tends to focus on the sensational; sometimes he misperceives because he had opportunity to see but a limited part of the total situation. If the news story is dull, it may be because the reporter was unable to inject any life into what was presented to him as a dry mass of details. If he did not report on the school program, it may be because no one gave him significant material on it.

A second implication is the importance of building up a rela-

tionship of confidence, mutual trust, and effective communication between the school person—in this case the psychologist—and the newspaperman. An occasional newspaperman—or school person—is benighted, but by no means are most so misguided. Building such a relationship takes time; it cannot be done in a month or a year. In the long perspective, however, it is possible to build such a mutually productive relationship—if one is able and willing to invest the time and energy.

Time is ever of the essence in news reporting. This means that reporters cannot wait hours or days for news releases to be prepared. It also means that psychologists, and others in the schools, will seldom have an opportunity to check on and approve newspaper stories before they are printed. The only road then to improving the treatment of schools in the local press is the building up, over a period of time, of a relationship that makes possible the fullest and most rapid communication. It takes hard work and forbearance to create such a climate. In the long run it will be worth the effort.

CIVIC GROUPS AND SERVICE CLUBS

The reader will remember that Schulze (1961) found that his public leaders were characteristically officers of local associations. Nearly one half of them were presidents of such organizations at the time of his study; almost all of them had at one time or other been such presidents. This would certainly suggest that the psychologist, even if he finds it time-consuming, should gain a working familiarity with the local service organizations and civic clubs of his community.

Besides providing an access to the power structure such groups are probably important to the school psychologist in at least two other ways.

Communicating with Civic Groups

"A new man in town? Good, let's have him speak to the Rotary Club." The school psychologist, particularly if he is in a new setup, will often find himself called upon to address civic clubs.

Such groups, as most others in this busy world, find it difficult to locate speakers week after week, year in and year out. And so a new person is a godsend. Saying yes to all such invitations can be extremely time consuming; all too often it comes out of the psychologist's hide rather than his working hours. Speaking to such groups can, however, serve two useful functions for the school psychologist. If the program in a school system is new or is an expanded one, this gives him an opportunity to interpret the program to some of the community leaders. It also gives him a chance to be looked over, and to let the club members see that, even though a psychologist, he is a well-intentioned individual in whom one may place confidence. "You seem so normal I wouldn't have known you were a psychologist." This old response is galling to the psychologist. Yet the frequency with which it is elicited suggests that the general public is somewhat reserved in its acceptance of the breed. Thus, speaking to such groups, or even just meeting with them, may help the psychologist gain a measure of community acceptance for himself and for the psychological services of his school.

The Benevolent Programs of Civic Clubs

A more significant way in which civic organizations may be of importance to the psychologist relates to the various benevolent projects and general welfare programs undertaken by them. Many of these projects have implications for psychological work in the schools.

National and international civic organizations tend to have as their stated objectives various concerns that impinge upon education and mental health; a certain amount of this trickles down to the local level.

For example, let us take some of the better-known civic clubs and look at some of their objectives, special committees, and projects as these are listed in the *Encyclopedia of Associations* (1961):

Rotary International includes among its activities general community betterment undertakings and "leading boys and girls into good citizenship."

Kiwanis International lists among its concerns work with boys and girls, and vocational guidance.

The Lions International has special committees on boys and girls, education, and health and welfare. One of its major committees is on sight conservation, and in many locations the club supplies financial aid for sight correction with children.

Civitan International has a special committee on aid to the physically and mentally handicapped.

If the writer's observations are correct, the civic organizations for business and professional women seem to take a somewhat different line, being concerned particularly with international understanding and education. Thus, Altrusa International is quoted as having as its major objective "to help resolve civic and social welfare problems within the community and the world . . . and to promote international understanding." The Seroptimists Federation of the Americas awards international fellowships for advanced study and has a special committee on international goodwill and understanding. The Quota Club International also concerns itself with world understanding.

Certainly the objectives and activities of civic clubs, particularly those composed of men, impinge on the work of the school psychologist. Such groups in general are concerned, often keenly, with their communities and the welfare of the youth within them. They are filled with good intentions. But if good intentions are going to serve a more useful function than to pave the way to the nether regions, they must be made viable; they must be focused on things the membership can actually do to bring about the objectives they have stated. It would be ridiculous to suggest that the school psychologist should try to harness all such groups to his purposes. There are many occasions, however, when he might be in a position to point out some specific actions on the parts of the members to lead toward the accomplishment of their goals. For example, a group is interested in the welfare of youth and tangentially in vocational guidance. Would it be possible for some members of the group to concern themselves personally with out-of-school youth who were still unemployed, a condition all too common in many areas? If each of a dozen members would

take on a youngster, try to find employment possibilities for him, and keep in touch with him to supply encouragement and support, to assist in continued job placement if the first one is not successful, much good might result. And this would be a two-way street. Young people would be helped. Club members would make the kind of personal contacts in aiding others all too often lacking today. For our benevolent impulses seem more and more to be directed into large operations where all sense of personal participation is lost.

CHURCH GROUPS AND SOCIAL CLUBS

Most churches will have women's groups of various sorts, men's clubs, clubs for children and youth, Sunday School classes. Most of these have impulses to do good; some take on sponsorship of various deprived groups such as settlement house clubs; many engage in providing food and gifts upon occasion to unfortunate people. As with civic clubs, it is hardly the psychologist's province to suggest to groups how they should direct their benevolent impulses. There are occasions, however, when the school psychologist might be helpful through providing more precise direction where a group was floundering, or occasionally in suggesting a direction where a group had none.

Let us take an example already used elsewhere of a group of churchwomen who took on as a year's project "emotionally disturbed children." This was done with the best of intentions and at the suggestion of the state organization. But the women understood very little about the nature of emotional disturbance, and even less about ways of helping youngsters with such difficulties. They wanted to be helpful; their problem was one of not knowing how to go about it. It is in such situations as these, where a group is concerned with an issue that is at least part psychological, and where the group has no idea of how to begin, that a psychologist might be helpful. For example, these women probably first of all needed to know something about the meaning of the term, about the incidence of emotional disturbance, a little bit about the more usual antecedents. Beyond this they needed to under-

stand some of the possibilities for helping such youngsters. These women's only thought was to try to provide more psychiatric help, although they had little idea of how to go about this. They had given no consideration to the role that they as citizens might play in establishing appropriate legislation; they had given little thought to the question of school provisions for such youngsters. To be sure, there are many other professional groups besides psychologists who would have much to contribute here. But this is perhaps representative of the sort of community situation in which the psychologist might be able to help a group focus its already existing concerns with mental health into channels that might be productive.

Another example, already discussed, would be the "Thanksgiving-baskets-for-the-needy" project, beloved of church and social groups, and the Christmas party for orphans. No one would wish to deprive the needy of something for which they could be thankful on a November Thursday, or orphans of the visit of Santa Claus. But one may question how far such activities go toward solving the economic and social problems of the deprived. The writer has sometimes speculated upon what would happen if such groups, as many of them probably could, gave time rather than money, fruit, or dolls and little red wagons. For example, some such groups today serve as volunteer chauffeurs for youngsters going for therapy sessions or for special classes when parents are unable to transport them. This illustrates a productive use of time to further the welfare of children. In the chapter on extending functions, it was suggested that there are many children with problems of social and personal adjustment, and also of school learning, who would profit by time spent with a sympathetic adult. Such an adult could provide the support, and sometimes the tutoring help, that his parents might not be able to provide. This is obviously more work than packing a Thanksgiving basket. But it probably has a much more lasting effect, again not only on the receiver but on the giver.

WOMEN'S CLUBS AND ASSOCIATIONS

The school psychologist is most likely to meet the women in his community in the PTA or perhaps in church groups. He might well, however, look to the potential of many clubs of a nonsocial—or partially social—nature that flourish among women. Many such clubs will have political, social welfare, or educational functions that upon occasion have been and may be used for school betterment.

In this connection probably one thinks first of the League of Women Voters. There are nearly eleven hundred local leagues in this country. Their purpose is stated as: "To promote political responsibility through informed and active participation of citizens in government."

Most persons are familiar to some extent with the efforts local leagues make to study political issues—often those directly relating to the welfare of children and youth—in their working toward "informed and active participation" in governmental matters. Their endeavors to counteract the apathy and ignorance too often found on local political issues have done much, and can do much, to improve situations for children and youth in community and the school.

Another powerful group, although far less homogeneous in purpose, is the General Federation of Women's Clubs (*Encyclopedia of Associations*, 1961). In the United States there are nearly a million members in over fifteen thousand local clubs. Almost every imaginable kind of club that directs itself toward education, home, personal and community improvement, or public matters falls under its broad aegis. The National Federation has special departments, among others, on education (both public and continuing), on home life, and public affairs (including community improvement).

A psychologist does well to acquaint himself with the various women's organizations of his community and with their underlying purposes and potential. Many of these potentials will relate, if in a somewhat indirect fashion, to his efforts to improve the well-being of school children. It is not too far a cry from garden

clubs to community parks and playgrounds and ultimately some kinds of recreational program. And the American Association of University Women is even more interested in the welfare of children than it is in Tang Dynasty sculpture or the poetry of Marianne Moore.

Since the days of Helen Hokinson, or even before, it has been popular to poke fun at the American club woman. Everyone has probably known a few deserving such caricature. For our society has done a poor job of providing significant and meaningful activities for women whose children are growing up and whose dishwashers, vacuum cleaners, and rotisseries make short work of the household tasks. Small wonder, then, that many club activities which may seem trivial to the onlooker become engrossing. But in a world in which we are assailed on every side with the manpower problem in the human welfare professions, it is tragic to assume that such groups are inherently ineffectual or unconcerned with broad social problems. Many such groups are farsighted in their concern for human well-being, either on the world scene or within their own community. Others, and they are legion, have that potential.

The psychologist who learns to live productively on twenty-four hours a day, and to make some inroads upon the manpower problem, must devise many ways of extending his functioning by enlisting help from numerous groups. Thus he must look to the community as one of his greatest resources for help. His problems will be ones of understanding the nature of the community in which he lives, its power structure, and the potentials for help of the groups and individuals within it. In this period of prosperity and population growth, the money and the people to meet the needs of youngsters must surely exist. The problems are often ones of encouraging the allocation of money to meet such needs, of finding the persons most able to work productively with youngsters, and of helping them acquire the particular skills and understanding they will need.

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11

RELATIONSHIPS WITH OTHER MEMBERS OF THE HELPING PROFESSIONS

We start this chapter with the now familiar point: there is an acute shortage of manpower in the mental health professions; future prospects are for increasing shortages as training fails to keep pace with the mounting population. In this context we must approach one of the prickly problems with which the psychologist in the schools must deal, the articulation of his work with that of other specialists in the schools. It is also within this framework that we must approach the question of establishing productive working relationships with the agencies and professionals within the community, such as physicians, with whom the psychologist will need to work. Although some aspects of working with the helping professions within the schools and those outside are similar, we shall treat them separately for expository purposes. In school settings, one is working with persons with whom one stands in some sort of administrative and institutional relationship; by and large one works with them more frequently and on a wide

range of situations. First, then, we shall look at some of the educational services within the schools that are usually classified as pupil personnel services.

THE HELPING PROFESSIONS WITHIN THE SCHOOLS

As the educational enterprise has expanded, inevitably it has become more specialized. The larger the school operation, the more necessary—and also the more feasible—it is to employ persons with specialized training to add certain skills and competencies to the functioning of the schools. Increasing knowledge of human ability and behavior, and of mental health, has brought about the use of specialists in the several areas with which we shall be concerned.

Our attention shall be directed in this part of the present chapter toward guidance counselors, school social workers, and school nurses.

Like school psychologists, each of these groups of workers has been concerned with improving its own professional status and competency, with attempts to train the members of its group in ways that will enable them to cope with some of the problems of the times as they are encountered in the schools. Each of them has to some extent been concerned with the need to increase the quality and the quantity of the educational product: that is, to provide the optimal learning situations for the educational, personal, and social development of children. And so what happens? Upgrading the profession is stressed, since the current supply of workers is not only too small, but often too inadequately trained, to realize the potentials inherent in a given professional approach. Along with this goes a stress on broadened functions for the given professional group. Each profession seems to feel that the major burden is upon it to solve the problems of the educational enterprise in our time. This would be well and good, if any profession could do it. But there is a danger when several groups, with common focuses of concern, so broaden their definitions of function that there is almost total overlap. This sort of thing, for example, can sometimes be seen in doctoral programs for school psycholo-

gists and for guidance directors. Again, this would not be altogether unfortunate, if there were not another trend that runs parallel to it. This is the way in which each group, in defining its own broadened role, tends to delimit the roles of the other helping professions with which it works.

This book, for example, has been built around a concept of broader roles for psychologists in the schools. The simplest resolution to the problem of relationships with the other helping professions is of course to suggest that each keep a clearly defined place. Let guidance counselors employ themselves giving educational and vocational guidance to normal high school students. Let school social workers make home visits and maintain the liaison between home and school—but stay out of working with teachers or counseling children. Let the school nurse take care of bumps and sprains, but keep away from counseling parents. How convenient it would be if we could just define a narrow place or function for the other groups, and keep them in it.

But how do the other groups see the situation? The guidance counselor probably sees the school psychologist's role as working with individual diagnosis and providing services for emotionally disturbed children. For example, in a widely used textbook in guidance, that by Mathewson (1955, p. 217), this role for the school psychologist is clearly suggested. This person presumably is to supply psychoclinical services, and leave the broader functions to the guidance worker. The guidance worker too would like to serve in a broad capacity, while the other helping professions performed clearly delimited functions.

Perhaps the situation just described must be lived with; it results from the growing pains of the several professions. It may be that only time will take care of it.

There is another origin for this confusion of functions, and for corresponding attempts to clarify the situation by drawing sharp lines around the role of other professions. As Findley (1960) has pointed out, the typical picture of the development of pupil personnel services in a school system is Topsy-like: they just grow. First one specialist is employed for a staff. Perhaps he is a school social worker. As the only personnel worker in the schools he provides—or in his limited time attempts to provide—a wide range

of services. Presently another personnel worker is employed. The old one and the new will figure out some sort of working arrangement and allocation of jobs. If the new person is a guidance counselor, the divisions of jobs will be different from what it will be if the second person is a school psychologist. And so it goes. Sometimes new personnel are resented by the old, for they threaten to take away some of the functions particularly prized by the old. Thus parallel roles may grow up within the same service. This essentially *ad hoc* arrangement of pupil personnel services in many systems is certainly one cause of the highly confused articulation of duties among the several specialities working under some such administrative unit as pupil personnel services or a department of educational services.

Still another source of confusion is provided by the fact that school systems will vary greatly in the weighting which must be given to the several aspects of the pupil personnel services. A college-bound, upper middle class, suburban school population has different needs from those of the slums of south Chicago.

There are morals in this state of affairs for each of the helping professions. There are also morals for members of these groups as they go to a new job. The professions have a responsibility to work out meaningful patterns of functioning, patterns that serve to augment rather than to supplant or duplicate those of other services. There are some signs that progress may be made in the not-too-distant future. For instance, we have such a harbinger of spring as the Interprofessional Research Commission on Pupil Personnel Services (Hoch, 1962). This group will concern itself both with extended studies of the disciplines participating in the work of the commission and with research on articulation of services and professional relationships. It would be unduly optimistic to expect such a group to provide a definitive answer to the problem. If it can, however, enable each professional group to assess its own potential, and that of other groups, more realistically, it will have rendered a major service.

The lesson for the individual, whether guidance counselor, visiting teacher, school psychologist, or other worker, is the importance of understanding the immediate administrative unit in which he or she works. One needs to know how each member of that

service interprets his own role, how he interprets the role of the other members of the group, his values, and his ethical position. It is only by building situations of mutual understanding, trust, and respect for the special competencies of others that one can work harmoniously and productively. It will be the purpose of the next part of this chapter to attempt to point out certain aspects of the training and role perceptions of other professional groups with whom the school psychologist works. A later chapter will focus attention upon the organization and administration of psychological services in relation to these other disciplines.

GUIDANCE COUNSELORS

Guidance counselors far outnumber school psychologists. In 1958 the best available estimate was that of the equivalent of nearly 13,000 full-time counselors in the high school. Actually a total of over 22,000 were employed, but many of them gave half or less time to this role. Undoubtedly, there has been a substantial increase in succeeding years. Training, not surprisingly, varies a great deal. Typically, however, school counselors will have a master's degree. Wrenn (1962, p. 122) reports on three studies, one of a 10 percent random sample of the American School Counselors Association (ASCA), another from Project TALENT (a 5 percent random sample of American schools), and a third from elementary counselors in selected areas. Approximately 90 percent of the first group had master's degrees, 70 percent of the second group, and 60 percent of the elementary counselors.

Since the Project TALENT counselors came from a random sample of schools, let us look at some of the other findings from this group. Slightly under two thirds of these were male; their median age was 40; only one fifth of them worked full time at counseling, although 55 percent worked at least half time. The ratio of students to counselors was not obtained for this group. For the ASCA group it was 416, and for the elementary counselors it was 690. As compared to teachers, then, school counselors are younger, although not much so; there are more men among them; they tend to be somewhat more highly trained than teachers, although the gap is not large. By and large, counselors come into

the field of guidance from teaching and—as the Project TALENT survey indicates—the bulk of them combine teaching and counseling.

In 1962, 41 states and the District of Columbia were reported as certifying guidance counselors through the state departments of education (Armstrong & Stinnett, 1961). Of these, twenty certified on the master's level and twenty-two on the bachelor's level, this latter sometimes with additional courses. All but two of the states required a teaching certificate. With four exceptions all also required teaching experience. The amount required ranged from one to five years, with two years the most typical.

An examination of the areas of subject matter, or courses, listed for certification as guidance counselors indicates a large amount of communality among requirements. The most frequently specified courses (either required or listed as options) were as follows (Armstrong & Stinnett, 1961):

| | |
|---|-----------|
| Analysis of the individual | 38 states |
| Counseling techniques | 38 states |
| Guidance principles | 35 states |
| Educational and occupational information | 34 states |
| Organization and administration of guidance | 29 states |

The frequency drops off sharply from this point, with the two next in order being statistics and practicum in counseling, each of these specified by seventeen states. The reader who remembers Hodges' (1960) report on the common course areas specified in the certification of school psychologists will observe that the requirements for counselors are far more homogeneous. This is not happenstance. The reason for this brings us to a major influence upon guidance work in this country: the role of the federal government in setting up standards for guidance counselors.

The federal government, having played an active part in establishing standards for guidance counselors, has been an important determinant of guidance in this country. The government has had a long history of stimulating the provision of guidance activities for youth in the schools. Conspicuous during the depression years were the Civilian Conservation Corps and the National Youth Administration (Miller, 1961, p. 160). It was not until 1938,

however, that a special unit for guidance was established in the U.S. Office of Education. It was placed in the Division of Vocational Education. At this same time federal funds became available to provide aid in the establishment of guidance services. The George-Barden Act, which made this possible, appropriated funds which could be used for any of the following: (1) maintaining a state program of supervision in vocational guidance; (2) maintaining a state program for training vocational counselors; and (3) providing salaries and travel expenses for vocational counselors, and also paying for instructional equipment (Miller, 1961, p. 162).

This clearly set a pattern of counseling as primarily vocational in nature and brought with it certain patterns of certification needed for reimbursement under the George-Barden Act. Hence the uniformity of state certification for counselors.

Although many persons in the field of guidance were concerned with the narrowly vocational outlook encouraged by the governmental organization—and support—it was not until 1955 that a Guidance and Personnel Services Section of the U.S. Office of Education with full status was announced, this time located in the Division of State and Local School Systems (Miller, 1961, p. 163). Here was an opportunity to approach guidance as a more inclusive service. But shortly thereafter another major act of federal legislation occurred. The National Defense Education Act was passed in 1958 (P. L. 864, 1958). Title V of this act provided funds at the rate of \$15,000,000 per year for states that participated in a program for testing high school students, identified those of outstanding ability, and provided a program of guidance and counseling for secondary students. In addition, over \$16,000,000 the first year, and for the next three, over \$7,000,000, were supplied to establish training institutes for guidance counselors. As Miller (1961, p. 164) points out, the intent of the Act is definitely one of the identification and utilization of manpower. This is shown in other provisions of the Act that are concerned with those areas in which the government has been suffering manpower shortages—the natural sciences and foreign languages.

The emphases on testing and on the identification of talent may tend to skew guidance in the direction of measurement, of concern largely for the upper range of ability—and that within the

secondary school. We can see a similarity to the George-Barden Act of the postdepression years, which carried within it the seeds of a guidance program interpreted as exclusively vocational. Where the government is contributing a large amount of the piper's pay, it may wish to call the tune.

But answering voices have arisen, writers who would refocus the concerns of guidance upon the broad social issues of the present and particularly of the future. A major illustration is Gilbert Wrenn's *The Counselor in a Changing World* (1962). This is a report of the Project on Guidance in American Schools, supported by the Ford Foundation and administered by the American Personnel and Guidance Association. The essence of this report is that the future calls for much broader training for counselors than that implied in the state certification provisions of the early 1960s. In this report a minimal two-year graduate program for counselors is suggested which includes the following recommendations for training:

1. A major core in psychology—developmental, personality growth and dynamics, group psychology.
2. Another major core in social forces and culture—sociology, anthropology, economics, and international relations.
(These two areas should be from one third to one half of the total program.)
3. Educational philosophy and school curriculum.
4. Applied and technical courses—counseling, measurement, educational, and occupational information. (This is to be not more than one fourth of the total graduate program.)
5. Supervised experience in individual counseling and in group situations. (This must be at least one fourth of the program.)
6. Elementary research methods, including an introduction to computer programming.
7. Introduction to the ethical situation and legal responsibilities of the counselor (pp. 167–168).

This is clearly a picture of a person with far broader training than that emerging from a literal following of the intent of the NDEA—or certainly of current certification provisions. It is also a picture of a much higher level of training than that found currently, as Wrenn's own data show. It seems, however, appropriate

and feasible. Such a pattern of training, if widely adopted, would probably change materially the role of the guidance counselor—and in consequence that of his working associate, the school psychologist.

From a list of areas such as Wrenn's one can gain some inklings of what the role of the counselor is perceived to be. Perhaps it would help to inquire more directly into the role perception of counselors as we see them developed in certain widely used textbooks in guidance. We shall choose for this purpose two books, neither of which represents a narrow vocational role. The first of these is Mathewson (1955). Hobbs (1958) pointed out that in ten textbooks used in guidance courses at the time he wrote about half of the pages were on programs and organization; 30 percent more were on techniques of securing, recording, and interpreting data on students. Little attention was given to the nature of man and of society, the two contexts in which guidance must ultimately be evaluated. The one exception he found was Mathewson. We shall take it as representing a more forward look at guidance counseling. Mathewson (1955) summarizes the functions of the general guidance counselor in the following way:

1. Identify and evaluate an individual's need, problem, or situation.
2. Appraise individual characteristics, performance, achievement.
3. Understand the psychodynamics of individual and group behavior.
4. Interpret those appraisals and understandings to the individual and to others helping him.
5. Assist the individual in relating himself effectively to his environment, current and future, through conscious understanding and control of self, knowledge of environment, and of desirable social standards, demands, and relationships.
6. Help the individual to undergo favorable adjustive, orientational, and developmental experiences and to evaluate these experiences.
7. Consult and work with others who may help the individual in improved self-understanding, adjustment, orientation, and development or who may later condition or create experiences to help him. Relate team-work to individual needs.
8. Aid the individual in furthering his own self-development in line with his personal characteristics, potentialities, and life opportunities (pp. 229-230).

In carrying out these functions, Mathewson lists the following as competencies for the guidance worker:

The ability to (a) employ professional appraisal techniques; (b) understand and interpret individual behavior; (c) counsel, interpret, and communicate effectively, and consult and work effectively with teachers, parents, citizens; (d) lead and conduct groups; (e) relate individual needs to learning experiences; (f) organize and run activities and programs; (g) know social resources, conditions, and demands; (h) conduct all activities according to a sound educational and social philosophy; (i) create favorable psychological settings for individual adjustment and development; and (j) conduct some forms of operational research (p. 230).

Few persons would disagree with this as a picture of what the ideal counselor might hold as his functions and competencies. But it is also a counsel of perfection. With the probable manpower pool, current graduate school facilities, and with such recommended ratios as Conant's (1959) of one guidance counselor to every 250 to 300 students, we must wait awhile before counselors like these are available in the quantity needed. Mathewson's listing does give us an idea, however, of the aims of the field and possibilities for the future.

The second role picture we shall take from Miller (1961). Miller's emphasis is clearly upon the interdisciplinary nature of guidance. His opening chapter is entitled "Guidance, a coat of many colors." Guidance is described as operating "in the zone in which the individual's own unique world of perceptions interacts with the external order of events in his life context. It is here that the choice points and problems arise which are the distinctive concern of guidance." He further goes on to state the general goal of guidance in the following words: "Guidance seeks to aid the individual to develop according to his own emerging life pattern and expectancies by achieving a maximum self-realization in harmony with his own values and the values of the culture in which he will probably live" (pp. 450-451). Miller does not go so far as to detail competencies and training programs for guidance workers. Implicit in his whole approach, however, is the counselor's need of a broad basis in the social sciences. In essence he

is seen as a person with some specific skills but largely a generalist who brings to bear the fruits of many disciplines upon the decisions of children and youth in the schools.

Wrenn, Mathewson, and Miller do not represent the *ad hoc* approach to guidance seen in those programs over the country that spring up in answer to the demand for courses of study to qualify for reimbursement from state or federal funds. They may well, however, represent the wave of the future, and the aspirations of the present. For the next decade school psychologists may work with counselors who do not have the competence and breadth of understanding these writers would hope for. But there is little doubt that the coming years will see more, and more highly trained, counselors. The school psychologist will thus find increasingly that he is working with professionals whose training—while perhaps not as intensive as his own—gives them much to offer the schools and much that will give the school psychologist new perspective.

THE SCHOOL SOCIAL WORKER

In 1961 there were estimated to be slightly in excess of 2400 visiting teachers, many of whom—although by no means all—were trained school social workers (U. S. Dept. of Labor, 1961, p. 268). This is a small number compared with the members of the other helping professions one may find within the schools. True, there are many additional persons in the schools who may assume in part the social worker's function, although often without the training the social worker profession would recommend. As suggested above, the term "visiting teacher" is by no means a guarantee of appropriate training as a school social worker.

Some state boards of education certify school social workers; most do not. Among the fourteen states that do certify school social workers, patterns are variable. Five certify on the master's level, the rest on the bachelor's. If the writer's interpretation is correct, eight of these states require teaching experience; three others specify either teaching or social work experience (Armstrong & Stinnett, 1961).

Immediate prospects for school social workers are not favorable. The whole field of social work is beset by acute shortages. In 1960 there was an estimate of 12,000 vacancies in the field (U. S. Dept. of Labor, 1961, p. 270). The same year less than 2000 persons were graduated from social work programs. Even among these, the number with field work placements in the public schools was small as compared to those in psychiatric and welfare settings. Important as school social workers are to an adequate program of pupil personnel services, it is unlikely that adequate numbers will be available for some years to come.

The history of the field is about as long as that of most of the helping professions in the schools. It is generally dated from the establishment of visiting teacher work in Boston, New York, and Hartford in the first decade of this century. The greatest impetus was provided by the Commonwealth Fund in 1921, which began a ten years' sponsorship of thirty demonstration centers in school social work. The fund not only supported these centers but also assisted in the training of visiting teachers. When the Commonwealth Fund withdrew its support a decade later, two thirds of the centers continued with visiting teacher programs (Boston, 1960). The number has expanded over the years but at a rather slow rate. Precise figures are difficult to obtain because of the wide variation in terminology and also in training expectations. A minimum estimate of trained workers might be that of the membership of the School Social Work Section of the National Association of Social Workers. In 1960 this section numbered approximately 1000 (Boston, 1960).

Like the purposes and values of school psychologists, those of school social workers tend to be consonant with the general goals of education. One writer (Wille, 1960) has stated the aims of the school social worker as follows.

His help is focused on the individual child as he works, through a relationship with this child, to enable him to take some responsibility for his participation in the student role. There are no pressures of time: there are no norms established. The social worker, who has knowledge of the values of the child's family, understands the conflicts which the child experiences because of differing teacher values. . . . The social worker views the child's difficulty in accepting and

adhering to such values in the context of his family and neighborhood pattern. His goal is to help the child attain an appreciation of school values based on more than superficial conformity (p. 102).

The 1958 Lake Forest Workshop (Nebo, 1960) defined school social work as follows:

Part of an interprofessional approach to understanding and providing help, within the program of the school, for children who are having difficulties in using the resources of the schools effectively. . . . The specific contribution of the school social worker is a specialized case-work service which is based on his understanding of human behavior, his skill in relationship and interviewing, and his ability to use school and community resources (p. 17).

School social work places heavy emphasis upon collaboration in working with children. Nebo (1960), for example, says:

During the continued contacts with the child and his parents, the school social worker maintains a close working relationship with teachers, principals, and other school personnel. All adults concerned with the child need to clarify what each can bring to the others' understanding of the child, and what each can appropriately do to help him. . . . This process is not merely giving and receiving information; it is a relationship in which all the persons involved participate (p. 18).

In brief, the school social worker is a case worker, his particular focus being on the individual child in his interrelationships with school, home, and community. His training has given him special skills in working in home and community situations with individuals and family groups. He thus can provide a dimension to the personnel services of a school in which the psychologist is likely to have less facility.

One must face, however, the fact that there are characteristic differences in approaches and points of view which may demand some mutual adjustments for working together on the part of the psychologist and the school social worker.

First of all, social workers tend to be somewhat more homogeneous in their approach to the dynamics of human behavior than are psychologists. As is generally known, psychoanalytic interpretations of behavior typify many schools of social work;

Rankian approaches also occur, although less commonly. This training cannot be deep because of the limitations of a program leading to a Master of Social Work degree. Such programs are typically two years in length, generous for a master's degree and usually planned carefully and well articulated. Yet they must encompass many areas of knowledge and practice, including considerable field work. There is nothing wrong with this, but one cannot expect a profound understanding of psychoanalytic theory in all its ramifications from such a program any more than one could expect it from a two-year master's program in school psychology. The danger perhaps lies in the possible difficulties in working relationships that may occur between the school social worker and the doctoral-trained school psychologist who looks upon the social worker as superficial in his knowledge. In one sense this knowledge may be limited; in the total context of the functioning of the well-trained school social worker, however, it may well be an effective part of his general armamentarium.

Another difference in point of view lies in the background of the social worker as it relates to working in hierarchical relationships. Psychologists in general are not trained for this. The doctor of philosophy in psychology considers himself a peer of the realm of professional training. He may find it hard to accept the authority status of psychiatrists, physicians in general, superintendents, or directors of pupil personnel services. The realities of life as such that even in the university he must to some extent function as a member of a hierarchy—and far from the top member—but academic life tends to minimize this problem. School systems, to a person with a new doctorate in psychology, may seem to maximize such hierarchical relationships. Social workers in general are trained to be more sensitive to such relationships and to work within them. This difference in approach to status situations may upon occasion create problems in communication.

There are probably some differences in the ethical positions of the two groups as well. Psychology, with a relatively detailed and specific code of ethics and an APA Committee that enforces this code when need be, presents a relatively homogeneous picture of its ethical position. The National Association of Social Workers also has a code of ethics (NASW, 1960), which has been generally

adopted by the membership and which is enforced by that organization. The code tends to be somewhat general in nature. For example the two statements on confidentiality are as follows:

[As a member of the National Association of Social Workers]

I respect the privacy of the people I serve.

I use in a responsible manner information gained in professional relationships.

The APA Code of Ethics statement on confidentiality is much more specific. This principle, along with some other aspects of the APA Code, is discussed at some length in Chapter 15.

The generality of the National Association of Social Workers Code suggests the possibility that interpretation of the code will vary with the school of social work in which a person was trained and with the agency in which he works.

Another source of possible friction lies in the somewhat different approaches to counseling and psychotherapeutic relationships. The psychologist, who has been led in graduate school to believe that psychotherapy is basically a doctoral or postdoctoral specialty, will be concerned to see that the school social worker's case work looks a lot like psychotherapy to him. The two professions do look at psychotherapy somewhat differently, and the time is certainly not ripe to declare one right and the other wrong. Psychotherapy by doctoral psychologists is by no means always successful. Intensive case work by school social workers often is. The best immediate resolution of the problem may be a working together of both groups to understand fully the competencies and points of view of the other.

Possible difficulties in working relationships, such as those listed, point the importance for the psychologist and school social worker to clarify for themselves, and for each other, their particular roles and competencies, their ways of working together in areas where there is some measure of overlap. This problem has troubled school social workers as well as school psychologists. The 1956 Lake Forest Workshop of school social workers gave consideration to the general problem of interprofessional relationships and discussed at some length relationships with school psychologists (Quattlebaum, 1958, pp. 20-21). The workshop offered no

resolution other than the continued need for interpretation to each other and for maximum communication.

Until such time as the roles of the helping professions are more clearly structured in the schools there will doubtless be some overlap in functions between social workers and psychologists in many school settings. The chances are good, however, that there will be more than enough work for both groups. The school psychologist is fortunate who has school social workers with whom he can share the load. With the great manpower needs in the helping professions, the chief problem is one of providing the opportunities for each profession to use its greatest potential in working to meet the needs of school children. In such mutual endeavors school social work and school psychology can become strong and effective allies.

SCHOOL HEALTH SERVICES

In 1953 the American Medical Association and the National Education Association, through a Joint Committee on Health Problems in Education, published a report entitled *School Health Services* (Wilson, 1953). This lists as the scope of school health services the following areas: health appraisal, health counseling and follow-through, emergency care procedures, communicable disease control, school sanitation, health of school personnel (Wilson, 1953, pp. 6-8). Some of these obviously have little overlap with the work of the school psychologist; health appraisal, counseling and follow-through, and health of school personnel, will, however, have some points of mutual concern.

The school nurse is the one with whom the psychologist is most likely to come in contact in relation to school health services and it is with her that we shall deal.

There is great variability in practice with respect to school health services and thus in the operational patterns of school nursing. In the first place, school health services are often not rendered through educational agencies. Hanlon (1960, p. 490) reports that a 1949 survey indicated that 45 percent of health services were rendered by official school agencies, 41 percent by official health agencies, 11 percent jointly, with 3 percent through still other

sources. The role perceptions of the school nurse who sees herself as a member of the staff of the public health department may be somewhat different from those of the one who sees herself as a staff member at Westside School. Even her responsibilities may be somewhat different.

Although many schools will employ any graduate nurse and label her as school nurse, others will demand special training and qualifications. As a picture of what might be expected from a well-trained school nurse, we may take the current recommendations of the School Nurses Branch of the Public Health Nurses Section of the American Nurses' Association (American Nurses Association, n.d.). This branch lists a series of functions, similar in part to those of the Joint AMA-NEA Committee:

- Functions relating to the administration of the school health program
- Functions relating to the nurse's role as a faculty member
- Functions relating to the community
- Functions relating to evaluation and research
- Functions relating to health appraisal
- Functions relating to counseling and guidance
- Functions relating to health education
- Functions relating to the supervision of the school nursing staff

The list is comprehensive and perhaps the picture of a super-nurse. It does, however, reflect the aspirations of the national group most concerned with effective functioning in this job.

Recommended qualifications for a staff position would include the following: graduation from an accredited school of nursing; possession of current license as registered nurse; possession of a baccalaureate degree; and completion of a program of study, including field experience, designed to prepare school nurses (American Nurses Association, n.d.).

The program of study is detailed under six headings: the total school program, specific school nursing responsibilities, factors influencing the learning process, public health, health education, and public relations. Under specific nursing responsibilities are included knowledge of growth and development in children and techniques of counseling.

In addition, the school nurse's training program is to develop

in her certain skills relating to school health. Two of these are relevant to the work of the school psychologist: Recognize deviation from normal in the physical, mental, and emotional health of pupils; interpret health needs of pupils to parents, school personnel, and community groups. The school nurse whose training has developed in her those areas of knowledge and skills listed can be a valuable ally to the school psychologist.

Just as with the school social worker, the psychologist needs to keep in mind certain aspects of the training and role perceptions of the school nurse that have relevance for his working relationships.

The school psychologist may sometimes feel that he is between two fires. As compared to the school nurse, however, his problems of divided responsibility may be slight. The school nurse generally has a three-way responsibility, regardless of whether the health services of which she is a part come under a health agency or under the board of education. As Freeman (1957, p. 363) points out, she has a responsibility to the school administration. She also has a responsibility, rigidly prescribed in medical circles, to the school physician or medical adviser of the school. In addition, the nursing supervisor or community health agency, whichever she works under, holds her responsible for the professional nursing aspects of her work. Such three-way responsibility often gives the school nurse little room in which to operate.

Nurses are rigidly trained in hierarchal relationships; the more free-wheeling psychologist may find this hard to understand. In addition, as with the school social worker, he will find differences in ethical positions. As was pointed out many years ago (Leake, 1927), a large part of the medical code of ethics is really a description of etiquette, of ways of relating to fellow professionals. Yet in medical circles, including the so-called ancillary professions, violations of these matters of courtesy are actually seen as breaches of ethics, and hence taken quite seriously. It is well for the school psychologist to be aware that other professions may define what is ethical or unethical along somewhat different dimensions from those with which he is familiar.

Probably two major points of intersection in the jobs of the school nurses and the school psychologist come in the areas of

health appraisal and of counseling. It is fatuous to point out the frequent relationships between physical health appraisals and the behavioral difficulties that children may exhibit. Still, the psychologist is perhaps too prone to search for hidden dynamics while the nurse is perhaps too inclined to seek explanations in defective vision, a low metabolic rate, or some other physical disorder. Both nurse and psychologist can profit from the other's point of view.

In most school health services with any degree of adequacy the school nurse will visit in the home when appropriate. She is expected to counsel with children and particularly with parents on the health problems of the youngsters in question. She thus is often a major source of information for the school psychologist who can establish with her an effective working relationship. In addition she has opportunities to observe children in ways different from those of the teacher and the psychologist. She will be particularly alert to children who use symptoms of illness as a way of avoiding difficulties, those who use minor aches and bruises as ways of demanding sympathy and attention. She is often the one who has the opportunity and the point of view to observe those general health conditions around a school that may have their effect upon the behavior of children in the classroom. She is likely to be the staff person particularly concerned with such matters as lighting, heat, the interspersing of rest and recess times with work periods for young children, with the safety aspects of the equipment on the playground.

Although the school nurse's—and the school physician's—concern is for the most part, appropriately, with the physical welfare of children, there is much in their functioning that can make the work of the school psychologist both easier and more effective, if he devotes time and energy to establishing productive working relationships.

This chapter has so far discussed three helping professions that together with school psychology are often grouped under pupil personnel services. The recent trend is also to include under this attendance work, and to exclude special education, which is seen instead largely as a curriculum function. Attendance work has

not been discussed because of the great heterogeneity of what goes under the name. This can vary from school social work to the old stereotype of the truant officer. It is obviously of major importance that a school system keep track of those children who fail to attend school and to do something about it. The persons whose job it is to perform such services will be of considerable importance to the school psychologist. It is difficult, however, to characterize such workers. Perhaps the best counsel for the school psychologist is for him to familiarize himself with his local situation in this respect and to learn the particular competencies of those persons who carry on attendance work in the schools where he is employed.

There is another piece of unfinished business with respect to the helping professions in the schools—some direct consideration of the articulation of such services. This will be done in Chapter 13: *The Organization and Administration of Psychological Services*, where the topic will be considered in relation to the place of school psychological services in the pupil personnel branch of a school system. The remainder of the present chapter will treat briefly the helping professions as they are found within the community.

COMMUNITY COUNCILS AND AGENCIES

Most sizable communities will have some kind of community welfare council. The history of these councils runs back at least half a century, when such coordinating bodies were established in Pittsburgh and Milwaukee. The Community Chest movement of the twenties gave impetus to their further development. As charitable organizations, welfare agencies, and other direct agency services have multiplied, the need for such coordinating bodies has become imperative. Thus today we find Councils of Community Agencies, Health and Welfare Federations, United Community Services, and the like in the cities of the nation. These councils include governmental agencies, federal, state, and local, as well as private agencies. They will include recreational and group services as well as services to individuals and to families.

Councils in general are entirely without authority, except as their skill and expertness lend them such power. Their significance and importance, however, will consist in what they are able to accomplish in a community in accordance with their stated purposes. Ogg (1959), in a publication for laymen on such councils, describes their general purposes as follows:

They aim first at finding out what's needed in health, welfare, and recreation, and what's being done about it. They want to rate existing services, get rid of complications, coordinate programs, and fill gaps, recommending which projects should come first and which organizations can best handle them. They try to raise operating standards in social agencies. They serve as a meeting ground where these agencies, governmental and voluntary, can work together with interested citizens. And of necessity they seek public acceptances of their blueprints for enriching community life (pp. 3-4).

The By-Laws of the Council of Community Agencies of one southern city (Nashville and Davidson County Council of Community Agencies, 1961) state its specific purposes and functions as follows:

1. To enable citizens to work together to determine needs and to bring about orderly development of well-balanced community services to meet these needs.
2. To bring about community recognition and understanding of the needs of people, and to stimulate interest and participation to meet such needs.
3. To work for the prevention and elimination of social conditions which cause social problems.
4. To promote the highest possible quality and efficiency in the operation of community services by effective co-ordination of community effort.
5. To gather systematically significant health and welfare facts about the community.
6. To provide common services for the community and member agencies that require a centralized, co-operative effort such as: Research, Central Index, Information and Referral, Christmas Clearing Bureau, Directory of Community Services, and such others as may be needed.
7. To conduct studies and surveys, to provide information, con-

sultation and staff service to the principal budgeting agencies to include but not limited to the United Givers Fund, the City, the County, and State Budgeting bodies, and to member agencies and other community groups as may be requested.

Number 6 in this list refers to certain specific functions of the Council in question. The Central Index, to which reference is made, is a master card file of all the persons referred to most of the agencies in the city, with a listing of those agencies that have had contacts with the person or family in question.

This list has been quoted at length to point out two things to the psychologist who begins work in a new community: First, the community welfare council will be the point from which he will wish to start in learning of the health, welfare, and recreational facilities of his city. Since one of its basic purposes is information gathering and the coordinating of activities of agencies, one can learn a great deal in a short time from the officers of such a council. Second, the community council may well be the point from which to start in one's concerns as psychologist-citizen in building up the kinds of referral sources one needs in work with school children.

An important point to be remembered in such explorations is the changing character of governmental agencies. In the past, and still to a considerable extent at present, governmental agencies have had as their chief function the supplying of financial assistance. A policy decision, however, of the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare on December 8, 1961, states that the Division of Public Assistance has, as well, a responsibility for giving special services to families. Thus we may expect in the future to see more availability of family services at the local level than in the past.

From the community council one may go on to make his contacts with the particular agencies of his city, the mental health center, the Family and Children's Service, the Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, the day-care centers, the Salvation Army, and so on through a multitude of public and private agencies. Some of these will have highly trained professional staff; some will be manned by volunteer workers. The school psychologist must learn to work flexibly with a wide range of points of view and

levels of sophistication if he is to be successful in his community work.

The host of agencies is so great that it would be a formidable task to point out their salient characteristics. Two general categories of agencies are of such importance to the school psychologist, however, that they will be treated in a little detail.

Family and Children's Services

The usual family and children's agencies will be staffed by trained social workers, typically ones who are graduates of a case work curriculum. This suggests several things which are likely, if not necessarily, to be true of the persons within the agency. One refers to the general purposes of their profession. These have been stated as follows:

1. To assist individuals and groups to identify and resolve or minimize problems arising out of disequilibrium between themselves and their environment.
2. To identify potential areas of disequilibrium between individuals or groups and environment in order to prevent the occurrence of disequilibrium.
3. In addition to these curative and preventive aims, to seek out, identify, and strengthen the maximum potential in individuals, groups, and communities (National Association of Social Workers, 1958, p. 6).

In practice, social work agencies must deal with a welter of immediate demands, so that, like other professionals, they may fail to realize their ultimate goals. Such aspirations, however, set the tone of a profession and over the years may well determine what can be accomplished.

Family and children's services will more specifically focus their attention upon the family and its potential for maximizing the welfare of all its members. This central aim may upon occasion prove disconcerting to the school psychologist. He is apt to come into touch with such an agency because of his concern about an individual child. He may find that what he recommends for the child's welfare may be seen as possibly detrimental to the total family welfare or, more frequently, as not the point of most critical need. He is worried about Joe, but the family and

children's service is also concerned with Joe's little sisters and big brother, his mother, his father, and his elderly grandmother. A family and children's service within a community can be a source of major referral help for the psychologist, but he must learn to adjust to the point of view and the modes of working of the agency.

Community Mental Health Centers

Community mental health centers have a long past in the history of psychiatric services, psychological services, and public health services. The pattern in which such centers operate with reference to individual cases can be seen as stemming, probably, from the activities of the Commonwealth Fund in the second and third decades. The Commonwealth Fund, in its sponsorship of the Bureau of Children's Guidance in New York and similar guidance centers, set a pattern of the so-called team, to consist of a psychiatrist, a psychologist, and social worker. The Director of the New York Bureau, at the end of the five-and-a-half-year period of sponsorship, describes its method of working with individuals as follows:

Each case was studied jointly by psychiatrist, psychologist, and social worker and the efforts of all three were closely correlated. The correlation was effected through regular conferences for joint discussion of the implications of social, history, psychiatric, physical, and psychological examinations. Procedure for the handling of the cases followed in general this order: the gathering of social history; the psychological examination; the physical examination; conference participated in by psychiatrist, psychologist and social worker; and staff discussion of the problems presented and of the possibilities of treatment (Lee & Kenworthy, 1929, pp. 269-270).

Anyone familiar with the usual child guidance clinic can see the long shadow cast by the Commonwealth Fund pattern.

Partially because of the success of the Commonwealth Fund demonstration centers, mental health clinics increased during the 1930s and the 1940s. The passage of the National Mental Health Act in 1946 gave rise to even more rapid development; by 1955 there were 1234 out-patient psychiatric centers. True, these included VA-operated clinics, clinics operated as training

centers by medical schools, and other special settings. If one follows the United States Public Health Service recommendation of one mental health clinic for each 50,000 population, the existing clinics supply only two fifths of those needed (Robinson *et al.*, 1960, p. 293). The problem is further complicated by the distribution of such centers. Of the clinics listed in 1955 the heavy concentration was in the east. In Mid-Atlantic States, 86 percent of the counties were served by a mental health clinic; in New England, 76 percent were so served. This dropped to 33 percent, however, in the Pacific States, and to as low as 6 percent in the West North Central, the East South Central, and the West South Central. For the United States at large, 23 percent of the counties were served by mental health clinics. The number of such clinics, to be sure, is increasing, but is far from keeping pace with the need (Robinson *et al.*, 1960, p. 271).

The picture in mental health clinics—with such a scarcity in most parts of the country—is inevitably one of long waiting lists and short periods of contact with the center. Robinson, DeMarche, and Wagle (1960), in their survey of fifteen counties, found, of the seven mental health clinics available in these counties, all except one had long waiting lists. Interestingly enough, they believed the reason for the short waiting list of the one exception was the excellence of judgment in the referrals they received. Bahn and Norman (1957) earlier had found most clinic patients had relatively brief contacts with the clinic. Over 20 percent terminated after one interview; the median number was three.

In their study, Robinson, DeMarche and Wagle (1960) found that “the idea of the mental health clinic as a community-centered, all-purpose agency is gaining momentum.” All the clinics they visited were attempting to give some time to prevention in terms of education, consultation, and other community-oriented activities. However, as these authors point out, diagnosis and treatment are still viewed as the basic functions of a mental health clinic; with long waiting lists, the time for preventive work will be small at best. Generally speaking, also, a clinic will have little success in gaining acceptance for preventive work until it has built up a strong treatment program. And probably even

more than the school psychologist, the staff of a mental health clinic finds itself in the bind where providing adequate service to the public does not diminish but may even increase demand. Sensitizing the public to mental health problems may be resulting in an increase rather than a decrease of the pressure on clinics for diagnosis and for treatment (Robinson *et al.*, 1960, p. 291).

This tale points certain morals for the school psychologist. One is that he may just be as guilty of rigid role casting, when he looks at the functioning of the mental health clinic, as some others are when looking at the school psychologist's job. That is, his temptation will be to see the mental health clinic chiefly as a diagnosis and treatment center for the most disturbed of the youngsters with whom he works. He may give little heed to its broader community functions. Another lesson is the familiar one that things are tough all over. Mental health clinics have their acute problems of staffing, of setting up priorities, of attempting to deploy their forces—too often inadequate in number—as best they may. Most of all, this look at some of the aspects of mental health clinics may suggest the importance for the school psychologist of establishing adequate working relationships with the one resource in a community that has as its central and major function the support of mental health (Robinson *et al.*, 1960, p. 269). Just as teachers often need some help in making judgments as to which children to refer to the school psychologist, so the psychologist needs to learn which sorts of cases the mental health clinic in his community is best prepared to serve. In addition, he is apt to find that as mental health clinics have become increasingly engaged with preventive work, many of his concerns will be mutual ones with the mental health clinic. School psychological services and the community mental health services may thus serve to complement each other, to make possible school and community endeavors that would be difficult for either group above.

ECCE QUAM BONAM!

"Behold, how good and joyful a thing it is, for brethren to dwell together in unity!" So begins the 133rd Psalm. The helping professions have not always lived up to this injunction of the

Psalmist. This chapter has attempted to point out some role perceptions of the helping professions as they influence the effectiveness of working relationships for the school psychologist. To the extent that each of the helping professions working in or with the schools can understand the competencies, the values, and aspirations of the other professions, to that extent they may learn to dwell together in unity—to work effectively one with another. For a long period ahead we may be certain that there will be acute manpower shortages in the helping professions. It will be tragic if we allow different disciplines to duplicate each other's efforts, or to ignore the reinforcement or support that one discipline may receive from another.

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12

THE TRAINING OF PSYCHOLOGISTS FOR THE SCHOOLS

So far in this book our concern has been with questions of how the school psychologist is to work, the areas in which his contribution is needed, and his relationships with school and community. We must now approach the problem of how to train individuals to enact the roles described.

The present chapter will not attempt to set up a curriculum, or even curricula, for training psychologists. The situation is too fraught with change, new roles still too unexplored, to make such a crystallization desirable or even possible at this point of time. Moreover, specific curricula can be planned appropriately only as they take into account the particular resources and limitations of a given academic setting; detailed plans must be—and should be—left to university departments. This chapter will, instead, explore some basic issues in the training of school psychologists and examine certain dimensions of that training particularly relevant

to the general approach to school psychology so far developed in this book.

SOME BASIC ISSUES

Training for What Functions?

In planning any program of training, the fundamental issue is that of the functions for which the psychologist is to be trained. Once this is decided, and the particular limits and potentials of a given training instruction explored, answers on what a training program should be start to fall into place. This book has been organized around two broad categories of functioning: (1) problem solving from a data-oriented, empirical approach, and (2) extending one's functioning through the transferring of skills and understandings to others. In addition, this book has focused on two areas in which the school psychologist has important contributions to make—mental health and school learning.

To be sure, there are other entirely justifiable views of the functions for which the school psychologist should be trained. The approach mentioned, however, is the bias of the writer; it should be borne in mind in the further discussions of basic issues in training.

Different Avenues of Training

The most appropriate attack upon the problem of training school psychologists today is a vigorous exploration of many different avenues of training. By such examination, and by careful evaluation of the results of such new, and as yet untried, ways of training school psychologists, we may hope in time to develop patterns of training effective in bringing to bear upon the needs of the school the best psychology can offer.

The temptation in discussing training for the school psychologist, as indeed in discussing various roles for him, is to suggest a breadth and scope of training that would make of him a superman. The same trend, of course, is found in discussions of training for many other specialties. As society has become increasingly complex, everyone's solution is to train a race of supermen and superwomen. Would that we could. But the chances, however, are remote that a sufficient number of such potential supermen

and superwomen exist. We had therefore best look at what is feasible and at the same time promises major improvement in functioning, even though it may not solve all of society's problems.

One question that inevitably arises in discussing different avenues of training is whether school psychology is itself a specialty, or whether the psychologist in the schools should instead be a specialist in some particular aspect of psychology. There may be a general core of expectancy for psychologists in the schools and within this a still more central core for all psychologists. Beyond this the field is wide. We might therefore raise the question of what valuable special emphases in psychology would be worth exploring for use in the schools.

THE SCHOOL MENTAL HEALTH CONSULTANT. Clinical psychology in recent years, faced with the manpower problem, has begun to extend its range of help to human beings through training students in community health techniques. Community mental health psychologists thus concern themselves with such areas as epidemiology, group and individual consultation, conducting of institutes and workshops, and empirical studies of the effectiveness of different methods of procedure. This general sort of training, with particular emphasis on the school as the setting in which to operate, would seem highly appropriate for a psychologist who would work in the schools.

THE SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGIST IN THE SCHOOLS. The social psychologist in the schools is another specialist who could find an effective role for himself. The individual with a deep understanding of the nature and functioning of such social organisms as the school and with detailed knowledge of group behavior would have much to offer. His particular contribution would lie in enabling schools and teachers to provide optimal settings for increasing the personal, social, and educational well-being of children.

THE SPECIALIST IN SCHOOL LEARNING. Still a third specialty would be that of learning as it applies to school situations. As earlier chapters have pointed out, the school's great need today is that of increasing quantity or productivity and at the same time augmenting quality. This has raised many questions about effective methods of teaching and of learning. It is a somewhat

sad commentary on the alertness and imagination of psychologists that so much of what has been done in the area of programming learning has become the province of the machine and the specialist in audio-visual equipment. Valuable as the contributions of the audio-visual expert may be, the central problem of how learning takes place may be lost in fascination with the elaborate electronic gadgetry.

THE SCHOOL MEASUREMENT SPECIALIST. As another possibility we might look at the individual trained in measurement, with particular emphasis on criterion development. An individual who is in a position to help a school system devise ways of assessing whether or not its short-term or ultimate goals are being attained may be one of the most valuable specialists that a school can employ. This is of special importance at present; the educational world is teeming with innovations in techniques of instruction, in grouping, in patterns of organization. Such new procedures cry out for evaluation as to their adequacy.

Other specialties could be mentioned. The ones listed are, of course, not mutually exclusive. For instance, through each of them runs an emphasis on an empirical approach in which the individual reaches decisions on the basis of data he has or can obtain. Another pervasive emphasis is the concern with applying psychology more broadly to the over-all life of the school than is possible with the more limited and precisely focused approach of the psychometrician or the traditional clinician. Such specialties might more properly be seen as special emphases in training. In the present stage of growth in psychology, and in view of the swiftly changing situations in the schools, the most effective psychologist will probably be the one who is broadly trained in his discipline of psychology. This broad training may be capped with some specialty, such as those suggested of community health, social psychology, measurement, or school learning.

A Plea for New Patterns of Training

We must remember that the field of school psychology has accumulated almost no evidence on the effectiveness of different kinds of training programs. Nor is there even any sizable amount

of evidence on the adequacy of various kinds of psychological services in the schools. The time is certainly not ripe for suggesting any way of training school psychologists as the one right way. Probably more than any other thing, what we need is the development of different kinds of training programs, ones that are imaginative, that take cognizance of the best psychology has to offer to the schools, that exploit the potentials of a given university center.

And as we try out new patterns of training, we must attempt to measure their success. University departments have upon them a demand—and opportunity—not only to devise new and better methods of training. They also have a responsibility to evaluate these new approaches as their worth is revealed in the performance of the graduates of these new programs.

Recruitment

The success of any training program will rest upon the kind of students it admits. The first temptation in planning recruitment is to think that only the gods on Olympus should be considered as fit candidates for a training program as demanding as that for psychologists in the schools. But the Olympian gods are few; we must settle for more earthly candidates. The people we would wish to recruit are not different from those wanted in other branches of professional psychology insofar as general levels of ability and skill in interpersonal relations go. A serious question arises, however, about some specific aspects of the background we would wish the school psychologist to have. Experience in school settings, especially as a teacher, is considered by many persons to be highly desirable for a prospective school psychologist. Within limits of not having developed so firm a role commitment as teacher that it is impossible to shift from it, a person with experience in the schools certainly has some advantage over the person completely ignorant of what schools are like. With training getting longer every day, however, and with the manpower shortage, it is folly to insist upon such a background unless there is proof that it is essential. One of the hottest arguments at the Thayer Conference (Cutts, 1955, pp. 132-134) was over whether a person going into the field of school

psychology should be required to have experience or even certification as a teacher. After the two extremes of opinion on this issue had been stated and restated, one member of the conference pointed out that what concerned everyone was whether a person understood the limits and potentials of school systems and was able to empathize with teachers. The important question was whether an individual had this ability, how he acquired it was something else again. Certainly, aspects of the person's experience, either before or after going into school psychology, should enable him to understand the schools and productive ways of working within them. School experience can certainly be helpful in this wise, there are probably, however, more economical ways of acquiring this outlook.

A way to have the best of both worlds, perhaps, is to attempt to recruit from graduates of teacher-training programs who have had one, two, or three years of work in the schools. Such individuals will not have developed such a firm role commitment to teaching that they are unable to change from it. They will have acquired a certain amount of understanding of schools, school situations, and school people. Those who have the ability to manage a graduate program in psychology may be excellent choices for training in the field.

Levels of Training

There are only a limited number of permutations and combinations in terms of levels of training. There can be the doctoral level and there can be several sub- or nondoctoral levels of training. At the Thayer Conference (Cutts, 1955, pp. 139-140) there was general agreement that the conference should recommend two levels of training, one of which could demand the doctorate. The group had more trouble reaching consensus on the question of what should constitute an appropriate nondoctoral level of training. The general feeling was that the nondoctoral person should have at least two years of training, since the demands in the field were such that there would not be a sufficient supply of doctoral people in the foreseeable future. Further, there was the question of the inability of the smaller systems to provide the necessary money for a doctoral trained person. At the time this

seemed a reasonable, if somewhat uneasy, compromise between those who felt all school psychologists should be of the doctoral level and those who felt the master's degree was sufficient for adequate functioning.

The Problems of the Two Current Levels

As one looks at practice in the field, one may question whether the two suggested levels of training are the best solution for the future. As Raimy (1957) has pointed out in an article on the possible uses of persons with "submasteral" training in psychology, the conditions of employment with two such levels of training seem inequitable and probably not even efficient. What in practice happens in most such situations is that the nondoctoral person with a two-year training is trained in just about the same fashion as a doctoral person. He merely gets less of it than the doctoral person does. The possible exceptions are generally that the doctoral individual may have more training in psychotherapy and probably in research. The nondoctoral person, then, is simply a less well trained individual, not a person trained in a different manner. Furthermore, there exists in professional psychology a profound gap between the doctoral and the nondoctoral person in terms of professional status and employment standards. Salaries, status, and employment opportunities for the nondoctoral person tend to be unfavorable as compared to those for the individual with a doctorate. As Raimy (1957) suggests, if one looks at the training of the two, we may consider one of them as having had eight years of training beyond high school, the other six. Yet there is a wide gulf between them in status. This is not only inequitable; it also creates a serious problem of recruitment for the nondoctoral level.

Possible Solutions

Should it be an M.A.? Should it be something even less than an M.A.? Both of the two suggestions will probably strike horror into the hearts of the majority of psychologists concerned with upgrading and attaining status in their profession. On the other hand, it is possible that the use of persons with a much shorter period of education, but with more specific and technical train-

ing, might be highly advantageous. This is looking toward the future, but perhaps near future, when psychology will have reached the state of professional development in which it is able to specify operations more precisely than in the past. In this way individuals could be trained to perform the specific technical operations in a much shorter time than heretofore. They could, working under proper supervision, assume a tremendous amount of the work of the psychologist. Probably the general area of measurement is today the one in which psychology has most closely approached the stage of being able to specify operations. The analogy was made in an earlier chapter with the field of medical practice. Here the medical technician with a far shorter period of education than the physician—but with a more specific and intensely technical training—has learned to assume a major role in diagnosis. In the medical technician's case, and surely also in the psychological technician's case, it is necessary for his work to be integrated with the over-all decision-making of the person with the high-level training in the general area.

Looking at the history of training psychologists over the years, one gets the feeling that what has been done, in a successful effort to upgrade psychology, is to pull the lower extreme of training much closer to the upper extreme. That is, we have worked to eliminate, or to train for a longer period, the subdoctoral person. At one time in upgrading the profession this was probably desirable. But at this point of development in the field of psychology, and with the increasing manpower shortage in the mental health professions, we might well ask whether the most productive use of training in psychology might not be to pull the extremes apart again. Embarking on such a course, however, would necessitate many new kinds of organization in psychological work. It would involve the development of new modes of specifying operations and of breaking down major tasks into their component parts.

This is an aspiration for the future, but probably a practical one. At present the realities of the situation, however, are such that, for some time to come, the profession will probably continue to train individuals on two levels corresponding to the doctorate and a lower stage that is comprehensive rather than

specialized. General demands in the field make this likely. It is certainly the pattern implied in certification requirements, where one finds that no state in the union requires the doctoral level for certification, except on the highest of two or more levels. Such a situation has undesirable elements from the standpoint of the future status of psychologists in the schools. More importantly, it has unfavorable aspects in terms of the maximum utilization of psychologists in the schools. If more adequate plans can be worked out for training on two levels—properly differentiated and yet appropriately articulated in practice—we may hope for school psychology to become maximally effective in the schools of the future.

CONTENT OF THE DOCTORAL PROGRAM

A Caveat

This section of the present chapter will examine some aspects of the actual content of the training program for school psychologists. It will not attempt to specify courses, but instead to look broadly at the different kinds of experiences that might be valuable for training school psychologists. It will reflect strongly the writer's bias since it grows in some measure out of the experiences of the staff at Peabody College. It is presented not as *the* way to train school psychologists; instead it is a description of some of the considerations that have gone into the way the Peabody program has attempted to teach its students to enact the roles this book has described. It is thus illustrative, with no attempt to be definitive.

The Psychological Core

It is difficult to get any group of psychologists to agree on what should be the core of training in psychology. The plea for a psychological core is in essence a plea for the generalist in psychology, for a sufficient common background of knowledge that individuals in the field can communicate with each other and keep up with the mainstream of development in psychology. Beyond this, it becomes difficult to specify. It would probably

be possible to get consensus that the school psychologists should have training in research, human development, mental health, learning, measurement and appraisal, and perhaps social psychology. Probably the most essential part of training is the provision of experiences that will give him the point of view and modes of operation of the psychologist. Some years ago, Charles W. Cole (1953), in his Spaulding Lecture at Yale, made a point concerning medical education that is relevant here. Cole pointed out that medical knowledge had long since passed a point where it was possible to teach a student in his four years of medical school all he needed to know about medicine to practice as a physician. Instead the emphasis must shift, and has been shifting in the more forward-looking medical schools, to that of teaching the medical student how to think like a physician. As Cutts (1955, p. 152) points out in her application of Cole's lecture to the field of school psychology, what this means for our aspiring student is that he must have a certain degree of grasp of the materials of psychology, where to find these materials, and how to analyse them. He must then be able to organize and use them in problem solving. In this way, he comes to think like a psychologist.

Cole's point on thinking like a physician would apply particularly to fields of knowledge in which there is rapid development, where what the individual learns today is out of date a few years hence. Few persons who received their doctoral degree in psychology two decades ago find more than a modicum of their graduate training specifically useful today. We have no reason to believe that things will be different for the graduates of the present. The most valuable kind of training in terms of psychological knowledge, then, might be the development of techniques for acquiring new knowledge and the acquiring of flexibility in applying this knowledge to new situations.

Practicum Experiences

Since the early days of John Dewey a leading educational shibboleth has been "we learn by doing." Like other trite sayings, it has a large element of truth. The field of law has come increasingly to use the case method of instruction; medical education is more and more centered around actual contacts with

patients from the first weeks in medical school. Colleges of education place increasing emphasis upon practice teaching and teaching internships. Examples could be multiplied in many fields, from those of the performing arts to the research training of the nuclear physicist.

Thus, practicum experiences become a highly necessary—if not entirely sufficient—part of the education of the school psychologist. Particularly this is true if the school psychologist-to-be is to function in ways somewhat different from those of the past. Three general kinds of practicum experiences will be discussed that are probably essential in the training of the school psychologist.

PRACTICUM IN COUNSELING AND PSYCHOTHERAPY. First is the practicum accompanying didactic courses in appraisal and in counseling or psychotherapy. This is the kind of practicum experience that by and large has been the most carefully worked out in settings with effective clinical programs. Although the school psychologist's needs in this area will not be much different from those of clinical students, several things should probably be remembered in planning for him. The most obvious is that in his future work he will be dealing primarily with a child population. Experiences with adults and college students, while important and relevant, should probably make up the lesser rather than the greater part of his training. Also, since training must be condensed into some reasonable amount of time, care should be taken in planning these practica to serve other purposes as well. For example, the practicum experiences in appraisal should bring the student in contact with the general range of situations he would expect to find in working in the schools. They should also allow him to establish contact with social groups different from those with which he is familiar. Too often, his previous experiences will be limited to a fairly narrow middle class background. He should also have opportunity to acquire a picture of the total context of the child's situation in the schools; particularly, he needs to come in contact with the teachers of the children with whom he is working.

RESEARCH APPRENTICESHIPS. The point has already been made that it is difficult to gain acceptance in the schools for the re-

search role of the psychologist. The role is new; it is not always easy to interpret to school people. The lesson for the graduate school is that training in research should give the student at least two things. One is a strong commitment to research as an important function of the psychologist. Unless the graduate school builds this up in the student, the chances are slight that he will produce research when he goes out from the supportive atmosphere of the university. The other thing the research apprenticeship should give the student is skill and knowledge in attacking the whole range of problems that center around doing research in schools. In a nutshell, the research apprenticeship of the school psychologist should, at least in a large part, consist of actually conducting research in the schools. Here under supervision he can learn to select and define problems relevant to the schools, to set up procedures that will be acceptable to teachers and cause the minimum of disturbance in school routines, and to interpret back to school people the findings of his research endeavors. Obviously, his training must also give him experience in setting up sound experimental designs that will furnish as precise and economical answers as possible to the questions posed by his research.

PRACTICUM EXPERIENCE RELATING TO THE BROAD FUNCTIONING OF THE SCHOOL PSYCHOLOGIST. If the school psychologist is to establish roles for himself that will allow him to utilize psychology more broadly in the schools, it is essential that he gain some practice in performing such roles while still in graduate school. Practicum experiences in consultation, particularly with teachers and school executives, will be valuable. Similarly, opportunities for participation in in-service training, in case conferences, in parent interviews, in working with teacher and community groups, can give the student an opportunity, under supervision, to function as he may wish to work later on as a school psychologist.

Some Illustrations of Practicum Experiences for School Psychologists

The three types of practicum experiences discussed all suggest that training centers should give careful attention to the estab-

lishment of working relationships with school systems that will make possible some major participation of students in the work of the psychological services unit in a school system.

As an illustration of how this might possibly be handled, the writer will discuss the way in which Peabody College has attempted to handle this research apprenticeship and, more generally, the school psychology practicum. The approaches used at Peabody have been made possible through a joint arrangement with the school system of a nearby city. Peabody College, with financial support from National Institute of Mental Health, has established there a field installation that provides psychological services for the schools and, at the same time, serves as a practicum facility and demonstration center for students in the school psychology training program.

From the day that students enter the program until they go out upon an internship, they are expected to spend the equivalent of one day a week in school activities, custom tailored for each of them in terms of his experiences and capabilities, and of what he must learn in order to function effectively as a school psychologist on completion of his training. These activities, to use Humpty-Dumpty's fine word, are portmanteau ones, each of them designed to cover as many aspects as possible of a student's needs in learning to function as a school psychologist. The criteria by which the staff has attempted to select these activities are as follows:

1. Is the activity one that centers around a problem on which empirical data are available or could be obtained? In other words, is this a problem that is researchable in nature, at least in part?
2. Is the activity one that will bring the student into contact with children, teachers, and community people?
3. Does it give him experience in an area that should be strengthened in his training? For example, students who come to the program with high school teaching experience should preferably select many of their activities to center around the elementary school. Students with no teaching experience, but with a considerable background in psychology, might profit by experiences that give them an opportunity to spend large blocks of time in classrooms where they can become engaged with teachers and children over the school day.

4. Is it an activity that has some reasonable terminal point? In other words, is the project so planned that the individual can within a feasible amount of time complete some recognizable block of work? Can he analyse it and report it back to the appropriate individuals on the training staff and on the school staff with whom he has been working?

Two illustrations of the sort of experiences used at Peabody follow.

The detailed account in Chapter 5 of research on culturally deprived children illustrates at some length the kind of activities the staff has attempted to provide for its students. This activity, it may be recalled, centered around making a research attack upon one of the problems of considerable meaning to the schools involved. In addition, it gave the students extended contact with an age group and a cultural group with which they had had little prior experience. It also gave the students some acquaintance with teaching methodology for young children. It further involved a number of community situations as students worked with welfare people, with parents of the children involved, and with certain interested community groups. Like many of the practicum experiences we have worked out for our students, it consisted basically of a series of activities, with one completed activity leading to another of a more extensive nature, and then a third, and so on.

Another illustration, again with a research basis, was a study of teacher variables in relation to classroom performance. Here interest was centered around the teacher's ability to predict the general level of adjustment of the children in her class and how this related to the teacher's actual classroom behavior. The student activities were first focused on the general conceptualizing of the study—with detailed attention to published research on teacher effectiveness, on the scoring and analyzing of a rating scale on the children as completed by the teachers, and on comparing rating scales with reputation-test data, which were also obtained upon the children. The students went on to interpret back to the teachers the reputation-test data, which had been promised to them. Some of the students proceeded, after con-

siderable training, to do the actual classroom observation of the teachers, making use of the OSCAR Scale (Medley & Mitzel, 1958). Next, the analysis and interpretation of the final data. All was done under considerable supervision, and with many contacts between the staff of the training department and of the schools involved. Some of the students participated in one part of the study, some in another. In general, however, this study seemed to fit the criteria of being researchable in nature, of bringing the students into considerable contact with teachers and children, strengthening certain of the students in an area in which they were weak, of providing classroom observation, and of giving them experience in an activity highly relevant to the general functioning of the school psychologist.

Examples could be multiplied, but the two given probably show a picture of how Peabody College has attempted to plan activities that would cut across as many facets of the school psychologist's job as possible, and that at the same time would be tailored to the particular needs and levels of training of the students involved.

Nonpsychological Knowledges and Skills

Like other fields dealing with human behavior and human values, psychology is a field in which there is a need for the broadest possible understanding of world issues and the many aspects of the human condition. Thus, the student who is going out into that arena of human development, the school, needs a critical awareness of the issues that impinge upon civilization today, of the varieties of human endeavors and aspirations. As Clyde Kluckhohn so well points out, the average man, in terms of the values of his society, is like the fish in the ocean completely unaware of the water that supports it as it swims. One cannot hope to make each school psychologist Plato's philosopher-king. On the other hand, any graduate school training psychologists to go out and work with people—particularly with those in their formative years—should give some attention to the humanistic aspects of its students' education.

Much of this, of course, will be provided by the very climate

in which the student moves. In large measure it may be gained by osmosis rather than by direct teaching. On the other hand there should be a place in every program for experiences which will give the students a broader look than that confined within the narrow walls of any one discipline. This may mean work in anthropology, in intellectual history, in the arts, in literature.

Somewhere in the individual's training there should also be experiences that will help make communication possible with all sorts of social levels and with varying ethnic groups. The graduate-school Boston, where all too often Lowells speak only to Cabots—or rather, psychologists only to other psychologists—is no fit preparation for the individuals who must communicate with persons of widely different backgrounds and values.

KNOWLEDGE OF THE EDUCATIONAL ENTERPRISE. The argument of this chapter has been that the school psychologist should be first and foremost a psychologist, if he is to function effectively in the schools. Still, it is imperative that he have some contact with the goals, aims, philosophy, and history of education. It is also valuable for him to have a general knowledge of the curriculum, and of instructional materials and methods. This does not mean that the individual should have a long list of courses in education. It indicates, however, that the individual needs some formal didactic training to give him a better picture of American schools, what they are doing, what their aspirations are, and where they are going in the future. In addition, the aspiring school psychologist needs a general picture of the organization and administration of schools, and some understanding of the duties and responsibilities of the various members of a school staff from the school board to the custodian. Some rudimentary acquaintance with school finance and with school law is also needed.

This section on the content of a doctoral program in a sense has been misnamed. Attention has been directed chiefly towards the various dimensions that should be considered rather than towards specific material that should be included. It is the writer's conviction, however, that specific content must be left to the judgment of the training center. Good programs will be planned in light of the particular resources—and limitations—a given training center possesses.

THE INTERNSHIP

The internship might have been included under the general heading of the doctoral program. It has been pulled out, however, for special consideration, since it would normally be in a different setting from the rest of the graduate training and since it presents a few problems of a special nature.

The Length of the Internship

In general, the internship should probably be geared to the academic year of the schools. It would thus extend from a period of one or more weeks of preschool activities for teachers through a few days of postschool activities in the early summer. Keeping the internship in tandem with the school year does present a number of problems, particularly for the student in timing his own graduate training. On the other hand, many activities of the schools are seasonal in character. For example, in-service training for teachers is generally centered around certain times, most typically in the weeks preceding the opening of school. Group testing programs usually come in the early fall, and in the last weeks of spring. School budgets are made out at specified times; new staff is hired at certain times; children change as they move from the period of shakedown in the early fall to the time when they look forward to their summer vacation. First graders, for example, are far different in June from what they were the first week of school. If the school psychologist is to get a picture of the total operation of the schools, and of the school experience as felt by children, by teachers, and by other school personnel, he can probably best do this by immersing himself in the situation for a total cycle, that is, for a full academic year.

The Location of the Internship

Should an internship for a school psychologist always be in a school? Would experience in a child guidance center be more valuable for some? Would experience in some research installation in schools be worth planning for? Would time spent in a mental health agency working directly with the schools be valuable? One cannot give a doctrinaire answer to any of these

questions. Each of the experiences suggested would probably be of major value. The particular needs of the students might make one more advantageous than the other. Still, for most students, unless they have had extensive prior school experience, it is desirable to have a detailed contact with school situations over an entire school year. Experiences in other related situations might best be handled on a part time basis. The individual might spend one day a week, two mornings a week, or some other division of time, in the nonschool setting. In this way he could maintain the continuity of the school year.

The General Purposes of the Internship

In the section on practicum experiences, much was said about the value of the individual's participating in activities similar to those in which he would be involved as school psychologist. These same arguments apply to internships as well. In addition to those general purposes for any sort of experiences in school, we might add the following for internships:

1. A chance to assume a fuller responsibility—although still with the backstop of supervision—in situations comparable to those to be expected later on. In other words, the intern, under supervision, now becomes a responsible member of the school staff.

2. A chance to see a school situation in operation over an extended period of time from the perspective of the psychological services. At best the students' participation in the over-all work of a psychological services office has been piecemeal until he goes out on his internship. The internship should serve to pull these fragmented activities together and to give him a picture of the total functioning of the psychological services in a school system.

3. An opportunity to sharpen skills and deepen understandings that have been developed in his graduate training. Sufficient practicum experience cannot be provided prior to the internship to give the individual the confidence and assurance he needs in many areas. The internship, then, can provide additional experiences of this sort. The internship can also upon occasion serve to strengthen the student's weak areas.

4. A chance for continuing high-level supervision on the comprehensive activities a balanced program can provide. Supervision, like the student's practicum experience, is apt to be somewhat piecemeal prior to the internship. An internship can give opportunity for more continuing supervision over a wider range of activities. This is not meant to suggest that an individual on internship should have a single supervisor. Obviously supervisors differ in their areas of strength and weakness, and this should be capitalized upon in the individual's training. On the other hand, it probably is desirable that the graduate student should have someone to serve as his chief supervisor over the period of the entire internship.

5. Special shaping to the student's needs. School psychology is a field changing and expanding rapidly. Thus students will bring to an internship many different interests, concerns, and skills. Because of this the most desirable internships will probably be those that allow flexibility in shaping the experiences to the particular needs and concerns of the students. The tailor-made internship, then, may be the best solution at present—provided those who do the tailoring keep clearly in mind the balanced programs of activities necessary for an adequate experience.

6. Research activities, and freedom allowed the graduate student to pursue research in the setting. This seems painfully obvious; yet it has been the writer's experience that lack of research opportunities is one major weakness of many potential internship centers. The role of the practicing school psychologist has so seldom included research that the opportunity to engage in research activities should probably be specifically planned for the prospective intern. Research is generally ranked in terms of desirable activities for school psychologists at the bottom of the list—"if he has the time and inclination for it." And so this well may come at the bottom of the list of activities for the intern. Where possible it would be advantageous for the student, in joint consultation with the staff of his training program and the staff of the internship center, to set up at least some tentative research plans before he actually begins his internship. This would allow him to take advantage of consultation on research design, more

likely to be available in the training center than upon the internship. It would also stake out the area of research as an important aspect of his internship year.

7. A university contact. Although it is possible to plan an adequate internship for a student in the absence of a nearby university, the presence of such facilities can greatly strengthen an internship. Library facilities, attendance at colloquia and special seminars, the opportunity for consultation with psychologists trained in various areas, can add much to the intern's year.

8. Some bonuses in the school setting. Just as an internship might well provide for the strengthening of the student's area of weakness in psychological functioning, so it might also provide within the community and its surroundings other special benefits for the student. For instance, there would be value in an internship in a part of the country different in its subculture from what with which the student is familiar. Special research or service installations connected with the schools can give an added dimension to the individual's training. High-level mental health centers and child guidance clinics can also add strength to an area for an intern.

In general, just as practicum experience should probably be portmanteau activities for students, so the internship should, if possible, combine as many desirable features as possible. Since life is short and the art increasingly long, it is only by such planning that we can hope to bring a person, after four years of training, to the level of adequate functioning necessary if school psychology is to make its best contribution to the needs of the schools.

Supervision from the Training Center

Generally speaking, the intern should be directly responsible to his supervisor in the school setting where he works. This seems the only feasible arrangement from the standpoint of the administrative setup. The ultimate responsibility is, however, to the supervisor from his training center. In this sense, it is the training institution that must make the final judgment on the adequacy of the student's performance and the experience he is receiving on an internship. In situations where the training center and the internship center are in close physical proximity, this

probably presents no great problem. Unfortunately the kinds of internship centers that have been suggested in the preceding paragraphs are not easy to come by. Internships in school psychology are relatively new. In many places, with the shortage of psychological manpower and budget limitations, there is danger that an intern will find himself a leg man, one to whom the overworked school psychologist gratefully assigns the bulk of his routine tasks. This may be helpful to the internship center, but is of limited value to the intern. In practical terms this means that first-class internships are hard to find, and the chances are against their existence in close proximity to the university center, unless they have been specifically developed by the university itself.

The problem therefore arises of the best ways to maintain liaison between the internship center and the training center. The whole situation is too new, and experiences too limited, to recommend any clear method of procedure. There are, however, a few suggestions that might take care of some of the problems.

Perhaps the most important step in developing appropriate liaison comes in the planning stage before a student actually goes out upon an internship. If the training center and the internship center can plan in considerable detail how the internship is to operate, the experience the individual is to have, the specific opportunities to be provided, and the amount and nature of supervision, before a student is actually on the job, many problems can be avoided. Obviously, too, there should be a memorandum of agreement between the training center and the internship center in terms of the specific aspects of the internship to cover such matters as inclusive dates, amount of stipend, working hours if these are specified, and name of supervisor.

Beyond that, one should probably establish some regular means of communication to make it possible for the internship supervisor to maintain continued direct contact with the training center. Such contact must also be maintained with the intern. The use of brief reports of the intern's experiences also can help keep the training institution and the internship center in close contact.

In experiences at Peabody College in maintaining contact with

interns and their supervisors, the staff has found that the telephone has been the most effective means. Obviously a personal visit is far better, but if the internship center is a thousand miles away from the university, such visits must be limited. Telephoning, however, can maintain much of the closeness of communication of the visit. And as cost accounting has taught us from the world of business, letters are often as expensive—or more so—when we consider the time devoted to dictating, transcribing, reading, posting, and then the reciprocal process of answering.

At best, however, maintaining contact with an internship situation a thousand miles away is difficult. This suggests that the future development of school psychology will be greatly aided by the establishment of many top quality internship centers strategically located over the country. It also points to the possibility of reciprocal relationships among universities, where training center supervision might not come out of the individual's own university, but out of one in closer proximity to the internship center.

The crucial problem, however, is one of finding—wherever they may be—internship centers that will present for the student a balanced program of activities and an example of a high-level psychological services unit; where supervision will be adequate from the standpoint of amount and competence, where there is flexibility and imagination to allow the student to see, in a more three-dimensional way than was possible in his graduate studies, the potentials of psychology in working with and through the schools.

CONTENT OF THE NONDOCTORAL PROGRAM

The future development of all professional psychology, including—and perhaps especially—school psychology, will rest in part upon devising new ways to train and to utilize the competencies of persons without doctoral level training. Guidelines here are relatively few. Professional psychology is fearful of losing that status gained through enforcing a rigorous and high-level training for those who would engage in professional practice. If new

patterns are to be established for training nondoctoral psychological workers, we must work towards changing the perceptions of the public regarding the competencies, responsibilities, and limitations of persons with particular kinds of training. Difficult as the task may be, however, it is the only feasible road to the goal of adequate manpower to meet the needs of the schools and of society.

This point was clearly recognized at the Miami Beach Conference on Graduate Education in Psychology (Roe, 1959) sponsored by the Education and Training Board of APA. This conference, with only one dissenting vote, adopted a proposition that begins as follows:

Two considerations point to the conclusion that we must now give serious attention to preparing persons for some of the functions which concern us by means of training programs which are less costly in time and personnel than is doctoral education. One of these is the conviction that for some roles appropriate and adequate training can be given in one or two years of graduate work. The other is that the supply of doctoral psychologists will be limited (p. 68).

In the future the productive use of nondoctoral personnel in school psychology will probably lie in the development of many new ways of specifying operations more precisely than has been done in the past. It will also lie in breaking down major tasks into their component parts so that some of these parts may be handled by persons with an amount of training that is limited but highly specialized in the functions to be performed.

While waiting for that day, perhaps not too distant, we may ask the question of what patterns of training for nondoctoral persons are viable at present. Some are suggested in the following paragraphs. These are probably closer to a two-year level of training than a one-year level, and in this sense reflect current practice. They may, however, suggest some possibility of departures that might lead to a future where it is possible to take fuller advantage of psychology's increasing knowledge as it moves toward a more precise specifying of the operations that make up the work of the school psychologist or the clinician.

Some Possible Nondoctoral Specialities

THE PSYCHO-DIAGNOSTICIAN. One such technically trained person would be the psychometrist and specialist in educational diagnostics. Although a person trained on a one- or two-year level would probably not be in a position to undertake the most difficult differential diagnosis, it is probable that such an individual, carefully trained for a period of two years, could assume the major bulk of mental testing and the less complex of the educational diagnostics demanded in a school setting. In essence, this is of course what a large number of school psychologists are doing now, anyway. Perhaps we would be wise to train them more specifically for this function.

THE ELEMENTARY GUIDANCE SPECIALIST. Few individuals would agree that guidance and counseling functions in secondary and elementary school should be subsumed under the heading of psychological services. Yet there is much to recommend a situation in which a person with one or two years of training in guidance has the opportunity of working under the supervision of someone with the sort of training we would expect at the doctoral level in school psychology. In this case, the guidance worker might be seen as an individual with a more specialized training, who could handle the bulk of the job demands and pass on only the most complex and obscure to the person with the higher and somewhat different training. This might be a particularly appropriate solution for persons concerned with guidance in the elementary school. The guidance function for children in the early grades is less specified than in the high school and is certainly far less vocationally and even academically slanted. It thus becomes chiefly a psychologically oriented function drawing upon knowledge of child development and mental health. Such persons, trained on a year-and-a-half or a two-year level, might have many contributions to make to the mental health of children. They could assist teachers to apply mental health principles in their teaching and their classroom management. They could do parent counseling on child-school problems that were not severe. They could work with individual children where situations were not unduly complicated. An important element of their functioning

would be the necessary supervision by the doctoral-level school psychologist.

A SPECIALIST IN GROUP WORK. A third and final possible illustration in terms of technically trained individuals might be that of a worker somewhat analogous to a social group worker. Here we would be concerned with individuals with special training in helping create situations to promote the mental health of children through play groups, hobby groups, and other special settings, including modified group therapy. There are many youngsters in need of help who would respond to such experiences under the guidance of a person skilled in group work and with basic knowledge of mental health.

A Nondoctoral Generalist in School Psychology

It is obvious by now that the writer believes the most productive development in school psychology in the future, insofar as the training and functioning of the nondoctoral person is concerned, will lie in the development of subspecialties, somewhat along the lines indicated in the preceding paragraphs. Hers is a personal point of view and one that is as yet basically untested.

Even if this viewpoint is accepted, for the immediate future some compromise is going to be made between the ideal and the current situation. Probably the bulk of nondoctoral training programs for school psychologists will center around the meeting of certification requirements. An examination of certification practices over the country seems to indicate, as was pointed out in some detail in Chapter 2, that requirements for the most part reflect a view of the school psychologist's job as primarily concerned with the testing-placement function. All states will certify, at least on some level, the person with a master's degree or at most with two years of graduate work. There is no question but that persons will be trained in many places along the lines which will make certification possible in some particular state.

To the extent that this is true, the best way of improving nondoctoral training for school psychologists may well be that of improving certification practices. The Division of School Psychologists of the American Psychological Association has concerned itself with this question. Its committee on certification has

directed its energies and interest toward the general improving of certification standards and the developing of model certification plans and procedures. Such an effort should bear fruit in time. A number of states are actively engaged in developing certification plans or in revising those that have been on their books for one or more decades. Changes in a given state will tend to be reflected, at least in part, in training programs within that state. Our best hope for general improvement in the training of nondoctoral personnel may therefore lie in the certification provisions of the future.

ARTICULATION BETWEEN LEVELS OF TRAINING

The crux of the problem of using nondoctoral personnel in psychological services is probably one of appropriate articulation between work of the doctoral-level psychologist and that of persons with more specific technical skill and more limited training. This is not too difficult a problem where several persons are employed in a psychological unit in the schools, if the director of the unit is a person himself with a high level of training and with administrative and supervisory skills that will enable him to develop an efficient working unit.

The real problem comes in situations where there is no doctoral-trained person, where individuals with the more limited training are expected to function on their own. One might begin looking at this problem with the categorical statement that such functioning without available supervision or consultation service is generally undesirable. It is true in any field that some persons with a limited amount of training can function quite adequately without supervision or consultation. Some persons without medical training, or with a very limited amount, can remove an appendix. But few would care to have an appendix removed by such a person, particularly if this individual were not performing the operation under close supervision. Admittedly this is a somewhat unfair comparison; yet it has a certain relevance. If an individual is functioning as a school psychologist in a school system where there is no other psychologist, one must recognize the fact that he

will often be called upon to perform acts for which he is not prepared. Even if great care has been used by the individual himself, by those who employ him, and by those who recommend him for the job to indicate his competencies and his limitations, emergency situations will arise.

Perhaps what this means is that individuals should never be employed under such circumstances. In a sense this is true; in an ideal world we would avoid such situations completely. However, in view of the manpower shortage it will probably be some time before we reach this millennium where the nondoctoral person's employment is only in psychological units in which he can have direct supervision and consultation. There are, however, two possible ways of ameliorating the situation. One of these is by a considerable amount of supervision out of a state department of education. By this is not meant the situation common at present of a psychological unit in a state department that has general supervisory responsibilities, but that is not expected to perform the function of on-the-job supervision or of frequent and extended consultations. Practically, this would demand greatly increasing the supervisory staff in the state department, possibly of setting up units over a state such that, within a radius of fifty miles or so, each psychologist would have available to him a considerable block of time for consultation or supervision. For example, it might be possible to provide a minimum of two hours a week per nondoctoral psychologist for consultation with the person from the state office, and upon occasion for direct supervision where this seemed wise. Crucial for success would be the staffing of such supervisory positions with persons of the highest caliber. Only with individuals skilled in supervision and in consultation would such a plan be workable.

Another possibility, and one already being used in certain parts of the country, is the joining together of school systems and districts to provide this kind of supervision for the school psychologist. One small school district with a school enrollment of 2000 youngsters could well use the services of a highly trained psychologist. If the system is not wealthy, however, it probably finds the cost of employing the highly trained person prohibitive. If four such systems, however, could band together and provide one

supervising psychologist for the four, they could probably greatly strengthen the adequacy of their school psychological services.

This chapter has attempted to explore in detail some issues relevant to the graduate training of the school psychologist. But the best program in the world can scarcely hope, at the end of four or five years, to turn out graduates fully prepared for the demands of the roles they will enact as psychologists working in the schools. The individual who receives his doctoral degree, as his professors somewhat ruefully recognize, is only at the first stage in his professional development. In the next chapter, we shall explore some facets of the situation the newly fledged psychologist will face as he strives to set up for himself a plan of continuing growth in professional understanding and competence.

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13

ORGANIZATION AND ADMINISTRATION OF PSYCHOLOGICAL SERVICES

This chapter offers no blueprint for organizing and running an office of psychological services. Would that it were possible. But every situation will have its idiosyncratic features that demand a particular organization to exploit its strength and minimize its weaknesses. Large systems will differ from small ones in their needs; wealthy and impecunious systems must plan in diverse fashions; Long Island's expectations are not the same as those of the plains of Texas. Yet there are common threads running through all ways of handling an office of psychological services; there are some questions each administrator of such a service must ask himself. It is to such general considerations that this chapter is addressed.

THE PLACE OF PSYCHOLOGICAL SERVICES IN THE TOTAL SCHOOL ORGANIZATION

We will begin with what might be called the external organization of psychological services—its place in the whole administrative arrangements of the school system.

Psychological services are generally separated from instructional services, and the school psychologist is seen as functioning in a staff rather than a line capacity (Cutts, 1955, p. 71). The staff position is seen as important for the psychologist's effectiveness, since it removes him from the line of authority and allows him to function in a consultative fashion with teachers. He can thus operate without the constraints of being seen as in a position of authority over them. Typically the school psychologist will occupy a status in the organizational hierarchy equivalent to that of the principal or instructional supervisor. From this point on, however, diversity appears. As Luckey (1963) points out, the administrator of psychological services may be directly responsible to the superintendent (this is most apt to be true in a small school system); he may be responsible to an assistant superintendent in charge of some congeries of services; he may be responsible to a director of pupil personnel services. In some school systems the psychologist's position in the organizational hierarchy, or formal structure, will be crucial to his status and his opportunity to utilize his psychological skills broadly in the whole educational enterprise. To be sure, the formal organization is important in any structure, but some situations appear to maximize its strength. In other circumstances the formal structure may have little influence as compared to the informal one that grows out of interpersonal relationships and is a patterning of personalities rather than of authority (Campbell & Gregg, 1957).

There is also a serious question as to whether the formal, pyramidal structure, with rigid staff and line distinctions, is becoming somewhat outmoded. The writings of certain individuals concerned with the theory of educational administration would suggest that this might be the case. Campbell and Gregg (1957), for example, in the book already cited give particular attention to the flattened as opposed to the pyramidal type of organization within school systems. In a chapter on the administrative process, Campbell and Gregg cite evidence and opinion pointing to the superiority of the flat type of organization. They mean by the term a structure in which teachers and the superintendent are in fairly close relationship: staff officers serve as consultants both to the

superintendent and to teachers. Advisory councils, curriculum and guidance committees, administrative cabinets, and the like, become important aspects of the administrative organization. This kind of structure, much more than the pyramidal type, is based upon the particular roles each member of the group is capable of enacting and the particular competencies he can bring to the school's functioning. It is not an organizational pattern congenial to the authoritarian personality, to those intolerant of any ambiguity. It well may be the pattern, however, with the greatest possibility for maximizing the potential contribution of the members of a staff.

Yet even with the ideal of a flat type of organization, some grouping of school services is essential in large systems. And since the ideal takes a long time, or forever, for realization, it is important to look at the ways in which psychological services are organized into the total administrative structure. The most typical pattern at present, and one which appears to be growing, is the placing of psychological services within a department or division of pupil personnel services. Because of its present influence, we shall explore this kind of organization in some detail.

Pupil Personnel Services

The services that may be grouped under the rubric of pupil personnel are many. Any particular grouping is likely to arise from the history of a specific school system. Findley (1960) has indicated that such services typically develop in the following fashion: A person is employed to take care of some of the non-classroom needs of school children. This may be a psychologist to give placement tests; it may be a school social worker to help with home situations that are causing children to have school difficulties; it may be an attendance officer; it may be a school nurse. This person covers the waterfront as best he or she may. Then another person is added. The job is split up, exactly how depending on the interests and competencies of the two persons involved. A third is added, and so on, until the point is reached at which some coordination of individual workers becomes necessary. Thus the office of pupil personnel services comes into being,

an essentially *ad hoc* arrangement for a particular school system. Hence the wide diversity, and also the amount of overlap that often occurs.

Some order has been emerging in this seeming chaos in recent years. One important landmark is the statement of the Council of Chief State School Officers (1960). This group has published a booklet entitled: *Responsibilities of State Departments of Education for Pupil Personnel Services, a Policy Statement*, which makes a clear distinction between instructional services (including special education) and those specialized services which they group under pupil personnel. The separation of special education from pupil personnel services is a departure from what has often occurred in practice. Pupil personnel services frequently came into being through the necessity to provide help for children with special needs. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that in many situations special education and pupil personnel overlap, and are seen as parts of the same general service. The Council of Chief State Officers, however, classifies special education as an instructional function. The services it groups under pupil personnel are five in number: attendance, guidance, school health, psychological services, and school social work. The publication suggests that such services both on state and the local level should be organized together under some coordinator or director.

Like any other grouping, this organization has elements of a Procrustean bed. Some concepts of functioning must be stretched a bit, others lopped off to fit into such a grouping. This is not unfortunate if the arbitrariness of the grouping is recognized and compensated for in the way the several services function together. It may become questionable, however, when either of two extremes is followed.

One extreme is equating every member of the function in terms of service. Although this may seem improbable on the surface, it is far from impossible. Take for example, the General Pupil Personnel Services Credential which the California State Board of Education wrote into law in the mid-fifties (Bower, 1955). Pupil counseling, the function of the holder of this credential, is defined as rendering specialized services "(a) In pupil guidance, (b) as a consultant to teachers and other members of the school staff on

problems of guidance, (c) as consultant to parents in the interpretation of the school in relation to the child and (d) in agencies" (Bower, 1955, p. 123). To obtain this credential a person must have a bachelor's degree, two years of experience (which can be teaching and/or supervised field experience), 30 semester hours which are specified for all holders of the credential, and an additional specialized area. This specialized area may be pupil counseling, child welfare and attendance work, school social work, or school psychometry.

The California credential authorizes the holder to: "Perform any pupil personnel services in the fields of child welfare and supervision of attendance, psychology, psychometry, pupil counseling and social work in any elementary or secondary schools" (Bower, 1955, p. 125)—with two exceptions. One of these is the supervision of others in pupil personnel services. The second is giving an individual psychological examination and then making recommendations therefrom. Individual appraisal may be done only by persons with school psychometry as their special area. Recommendations from such examinations may be made only by those who have in addition an extra year of graduate work in school psychology with appropriate courses in diagnosis and therapy.

On the face of it, then—with the single, but important, exception of individual psychological examinations—anyone with a pupil personnel services credential can perform any of the services California groups under this heading. The state does not include health services, for reasons it is easy to guess. California, then, at least as far as certification goes, takes the approach that there is little of a specialized nature in the functioning of persons in an office of pupil personnel services.

This is one extreme. Anyone who has struggled with this problem will have some sympathy with the Gordian knot solution that California has taken. The other extreme is to specify functions in a precise fashion so that everyone knows where his job starts and that of another leaves off. The report of the Chief School Officers may possibly lead us closer to this approach. This will be true if state departments of education and local systems become so enamored of neat and tight organizations that they start drawing sharp lines between services. Often the only way

that nonoverlapping functions can be specified is by reducing them to some clearly specified performance that may not represent adequately what a particular service has to offer.

Probably all the pupil personnel services stand to lose by such a precise delimiting of function. The history of school psychology, however, suggests that the psychologist in the schools will suffer especially in this arrangement. There is one function that can be clearly separated from those of other pupil personnel specialists. It is also the historical role of the school psychologist, and the one best known to school and lay people. This is of course the role of the individual tester. It is an important function; yet it represents only a relatively small segment of what the highly trained psychologist might offer to the schools.

But some meaningful articulation of the services grouped under pupil personnel must be worked out, both locally and nationally. Only in this way will it be possible to use to the fullest the services of the persons so grouped. The present scene is not only one of widely varied patterns of organization, or lack of organization. It is also a picture of overlap of functions with unnecessary duplication of some roles and neglect of other important functions. An administrator once remarked to the writer that he thought most of the members of his own pupil personnel services were engaging in parallel play. In some places the situation is a little similar to that which Bradley Buell (1952) found some years ago in St. Paul. Here 6 percent of the families were absorbing over 50 percent of the combined services of the dependency, health, and adjustment agencies in the community. All the pupil personnel services are facing manpower shortages; duplication of effort is little short of tragic.

An adequate and generally acceptable solution, however, is not immediately forthcoming. Fusco (1961) addressed himself to this question by examining the way pupil personnel services were organized and administered in eight school systems with well-developed pupil personnel services. These school systems ranged from Ann Arbor, Michigan, to West Hartford, Connecticut. As might be guessed, he found wide variety in methods of organization and administration. He also found some dissatisfaction among administrators as to the effectiveness of their organizational pat-

terns. His general conclusions would certainly come as no surprise, but should serve as a caution (Fusco, 1961): "The findings of this study tend to question the feasibility of devising a fixed formula for all school systems respecting the number and types of specialists and the administrative organization essential to an effective pupil personnel service program" (p. 67). He goes on to suggest that each school system must arrive at its own answers in terms of its particular needs and resources. To be sure, Fusco did not need to conduct his study to arrive at such conclusions. But he has provided some documentation for a state of affairs that most observers were relatively sure did exist.

There are two main stumbling blocks in the way of anyone, however, who would attempt to set up an adequate organizational scheme for pupil personnel services in a given school system. One of these is the problem of the role definitions typical of the various specialities included in pupil personnel services. Chapter 11, in discussing the helping professions in the school, attempted to point out what happens when each of the helping professions concerns itself with two goals: (1) upgrading the profession, and (2) devising means to meet more adequately the mental health needs of school children in a time of rapid population growth. Each group tends to redefine its activities in terms of broader functioning, and plans training for its members in this light. In many school systems this is coupled with a paralleling or overlapping of functions. Small wonder that internecine strife and hurt feelings occur when someone tries to bring order into this chaos. More significantly, competencies of some individuals may be bypassed in such reorganizations.

A more important stumbling block, however, is a lack of knowledge. We simply do not know enough about how such services should be organized. We are not sufficiently clear on the competencies of the several groups to be so organized, either at present or as seen in light of the trends within each profession. We do not know enough about the kind of training that would best prepare a person to coordinate such a service. We do not know what kinds of organizations and staffing are effective for what situations. The problem is not simple; it is tremendously complex. Most of these professional groups seem to the writer to have been

content to concentrate on maximizing the competence of their members. This is an admirable goal. What is less admirable, perhaps, is the tendency to regard each group as if it operated independently of other groups. It is easy; in a time of rapid expansion of pupil personnel services it is perhaps inevitable. Someone must come fullstop in this parallel advance, and seek to bring the several groups into a more adequate articulation, both in training and in functioning on the job. Most importantly, someone needs to approach the whole problem from the research angle. Existing patterns can be validated against certain criteria of adequacy of functioning. New patterns can be established, tried out, and assessed.

Complex and labyrinthine as the situation is at present, there is hope for the future. The problem is at least coming to the awareness of national groups concerned with the specialities involved in pupil personnel services. A highly promising development is the appointment of the Interprofessional Research Commission on Pupil Personnel Services (Hoch, 1962). This commission, with support from the National Institute of Mental Health and U.S. Office of Education, has begun to concern itself with research upon the whole area of pupil personnel services. Included as important aspects of this research will be matters of administrative organization and of professional interrelationships. This group has set itself a difficult task. If it succeeds in suggesting ways for the more productive use of all the specialities grouped under this heading, it will have made a major impact upon the mental health needs of school children.

The Psychologist in the Pupil Personnel Organization

The wave of the future seems to be that school psychological services will be organized into a department of pupil personnel services. And so it becomes appropriate to look at the constraints and opportunities for the psychologist within such an organization.

At first glance, the constraints seem more obvious than the freedoms. The major limitation is the probable role prescription for the school psychologist as the individual tester.

Another constraint is one that is usually not considered polite or politic to discuss in interdisciplinary groups. In honesty and

fairness to the profession, however, we must look it squarely in the face. This relates to the level of training and competency of the several members of the pupil personnel services group. All these specialities have been concerned with upgrading. At present, however, and probably in the near future, the school psychologist, by and large, will be the most highly trained person among these specialists. The pressure upon psychologists to achieve a doctoral level of training is tremendous. Full membership in the American Psychological Association (APA, 1962, p. xi) requires the possession of a doctoral degree in psychology; many regional and state organizations follow this lead. Even an associate member of APA must have completed two years of graduate work in psychology or hold a master's degree in psychology plus a year of professional experience in psychology. In addition, he must be devoting full time to graduate or professional work psychological in nature. It is true that State Departments of Education in a few states do certify school psychologists on a relatively low level, as was pointed out in Chapter 2. But even here the picture is changing. The Division of School Psychologists of APA recommends certifying school psychologists, by this name at least, on the doctoral level. And some states appear to be following the pattern. The Tennessee State Board of Education, for example, set up certification provisions for the school psychologist that demand a doctorate and include in addition a full year's internship (Tennessee State Board of Education, 1962).

The tendency in dividing up functions among pupil personnel workers will be to cut the service into equal parts: each worker will take the same sized slice of the total range of activities. This is what will happen where a simplified view is taken of pupil personnel services, as if they were indeed a pie, easy to divide. There are, however, differences in depth, in the extent of knowledge and competency, in the level of supervisory and consultative function at which a person may serve. Part of this is of course a resultant of the particular persons involved in any given situation. Part of it, however, relates to the way in which a profession selects and trains its members, and it is to this point that the present argument is addressed.

School psychology can take a step backward into that past from

which it is struggling to free itself. It can follow the line of least resistance and allow itself to be shaped once more into the mold of the individual tester. But it can take a giant step forward. Bardon, in an address to the New Jersey Association of School Psychologists (1961), sought an answer for the problem. His solution is one upon which not everyone will agree. His ideas recommend themselves, however, for sober evaluation by all those concerned with the future of psychology in the schools. He starts with a definition of school psychology which he borrows from White (1960): "the branch of psychology which concerns itself with the personality of the pupil as it interacts with the educational process." Bardon goes on to say:

This definition implies that the school psychologist is not merely a psychologist who works in a school, but a psychologist with a specialization whose orientation, knowledge, and techniques are applied specifically to the concerns of children and youth in an education setting. . . . What other professional specialty . . . is in the position to center its full attention on the child as he interacts with the school? Doing this takes clinical training, certainly, but it also necessitates training in education, educational psychology, social psychology, and, of prime importance, developmental psychology. It means centering attention on personality, group processes, learning, and the unique interactions that take place in educational institutions.

Bardon goes on to suggest for the school psychologist a role that is in part, if the writer understands him, that suggested earlier in this book—the data-oriented problem solver and the psychological consultant. He is one who brings the particular knowledge of his field, and his particular techniques of problem solving, to a study of the interaction of the child and the school environment. Bardon thus sees the school psychologist as a highly trained individual who is a generalist in a sense that the other members of a pupil personnel services are not—his specialty, once again, is that of the psychology of the child as he interacts with the school. Bardon suggests this model as the pivotal person on the school mental health team, the coordinator of the group who brings all findings of the group to bear upon the solution of the problems of the child in his school environment.

This is a hard and difficult role. It may be seen as grandiose by other workers in pupil personnel services. It certainly suggests a much higher level of functioning than may characterize those persons who work in school psychology with the bare minimum of course work necessary to meet the lower levels of certification. But, as Bardon points out, the profession must either move backward or forward. Some order must be brought into the overlapping and heterogeneous organization of pupil personnel services. If school psychology cannot assume a leadership role, some other group will do so, for such services must be coordinated in some meaningful fashion.

Bardon's argument is addressed essentially to a situation in which a pyramidal structure characterizes the administrative organization. Even here we might question whether the role he recommends, partly administrative in nature, will necessarily be the one for which the psychologist is most fitted. He may well be. Other possibilities, however, should be explored. The doctoral-trained psychologist, for example, might be the appropriate person in a department of pupil personnel services to assume a supervisory function. Where a flattened administrative structure exists, the psychologist may have considerable opportunity to exercise his skills. Where communication is free from teachers to administrative staff and superintendent, and vice versa, much opportunity will be given for the psychologist to contribute his particular point of view. If he serves on advisory councils, curriculum committees, the administrative cabinet, and the like, he can have a voice in making possible a broad application of psychology to the schools. Like the role suggested by Bardon, this is not one for a weakling or an ignoramus; it is a powerful role, however, for the one with the psychological knowledge and the interpersonal skills demanded in such a situation.

The Psychologist in Relation to the School Administration

One of the problems inherent in the psychologist's working as a member of a pupil personnel services team comes back to the Procrustean bed problem. The role of the psychologist in the pupil personnel services organization may have to be stretched a bit to fit in with some of the possible roles suggested in this

book for the psychologist in the schools. The roles particularly relevant to consider here are those relating to the instructional program, in contradistinction to the pupil personnel program. One aspect of this program has historically been a major concern of the school psychologist: his role in relation to special education. True, certain places group special education under pupil personnel, but the trend, if the Council of Chief State School Officers is any guide, is away from this. If, in addition, we look at the instructional program at large, we can see many ways in which a well-trained psychologist can make a contribution. Many of these have already been discussed in earlier chapters of this book. Certainly, many of these overlap with pupil personnel functions, or could be interpreted in various ways. At the very least, however, we could argue that a thorough-going knowledge of human development and human learning could be of assistance in planning a curriculum program. When we come to questions of the evaluation of instructional programs we can see again a major contribution the school psychologist could make. In-service training is still another area where psychologists may have special competencies.

To work in the way described in the preceding paragraph, one must have closer contact with the central administration than comes through being one of several branches of pupil personnel services. The problem has been solved in some large systems by having a psychologist assigned either temporarily or permanently to the curriculum division, to the administration, to a research division, or the like. Although this solution may lead to a certain fragmentation of services, it is a reasonable one where the service is large. Where the number of psychologists is small, however, solution is not so easy. A great deal will depend on the personalities involved. Much will stem from the hierarchical or horizontal nature of the administrative structure in the school system. Some of it will depend on the flexibility with which an office of pupil personnel services is set up. In the last analysis the crucial variable will be that of the position the psychologist occupies in the informal structure of the school system. Even in a pyramidal organization his functions will be primarily staff ones, without line authority. His influence on others and his ability to make ideas

viable, in any situation, will depend in large measure on interpersonal relations and the respect other staff members hold for his ability.

The situation is like that at the end of *Pilgrim's Progress*, where Mr. Valiant-for-truth says, "My sword I leave to him that shall succeed me in my pilgrimage, and my courage and skill to him that can get it." School psychologists cannot expect such a central position in pupil personnel services or within the total school staff as a legacy, a right. It must be earned; it is for him that has the courage and skill to get it.

THE INTERNAL ORGANIZATION OF PSYCHOLOGICAL SERVICES

As school systems and the special services within them have become larger, psychologists are increasingly called upon to serve as administrators. Some become administrators of large units, such as pupil personnel services. Our concern, however, will be with individuals serving in an administrative capacity within an office of psychological services, all the way from the person with thirty workers on his staff to the one whose office force consists of a secretary and a part-time clerk.

For purposes of discussion, this section will be divided into three broad areas: general executive functions, supervisory and evaluative functions, and program development and leadership. These of course are not separate and distinct; such a division will be convenient, however, for expository purposes.

General Executive Functions

The basic job of any administrator—not the most important, perhaps, but certainly the most indispensable—is to see that the work of his unit is done, and done effectively, over periods of time. Life is seldom orderly. The life that impinges on the office of psychological services can easily become chaotic unless adequate procedures are set up for handling requests and referrals, for keeping records, for maintaining communication with the hundred and one individuals with whom one must keep in touch. Someone must assign work loads. Someone must make out the

budget. Someone must recruit new staff. All these things the administrator can and must do—or see that they are done.

OFFICE MANAGEMENT. Part of what is being suggested here is simply adequate housekeeping. The writer remembers G. B. Stern as having once written that what the Augean stables really needed was not a Hercules, but someone to come in two hours by the day. Many an office has needed just this minor but continued attention to the keeping up-to-date with all of the business coming across the desk of the administrator. In practice much of this housekeeping can and should be delegated to a competent secretary or assistant. Like the Augean stables, however, an office can easily become bogged down if for periods of weeks, months, and even years, such matters receive little attention.

And so a basic job of the administrator should be to set up as efficiently functioning an office as possible. In so doing he may wish to seek technical help. It is usually possible to obtain useful advice in terms of effective record keeping and filing systems from industrial concerns, from specialists in training secretarial help, and the like. Time will be well spent in setting up the kinds of office forms needed. Especially important will be referral forms, already discussed in some detail in Chapter 4, and forms for reports of examinations and of recommendations given for children. Forms for group test records should be given due attention. Once such things are set up and in motion, they will carry themselves for a considerable period of time. This does not mean that they will maintain themselves with no attention at all; periodic checking will be necessary but it should consume no major proportion of time.

COORDINATION OF STAFF FUNCTIONS. A more difficult and complex aspect of the psychologist-administrator's job will be the planning of ways to get the work of his unit handled. This means that he must recruit personnel, he must devise adequate ways of dividing up workloads, he must take cognizance of the particular strengths and limitations of each of the members of his staff. This becomes a particular problem—and also challenge—when the staff is large. Some psychologists work better with young children, some with adolescents. Some are more effective than others with teachers. Some are better prepared than others. Some

try to do too much; some are too cautious or too indifferent to push out into new areas. Some may know a good bit about one subject, little about another. Each is trained a little differently. The permutations and combinations are endless. The psychologist-administrator who can take this seeming chaos and meld it into a productive working unit that maximizes strengths and minimizes weaknesses on his staff illustrates the executive function at its best.

BUDGET MAKING. School budgets are made annually, and the person serving as administrator of psychological services must expect to make out a proposed budget for this unit. Budget making is a technical operation that calls for considerable skill in projecting expenses, and above all, for the ability to allocate money wisely to insure the maximum return for a given expenditure.

The psychologist-administrator should familiarize himself sufficiently with school finance to make out his own portion of the budget appropriately. Such books as Linn's *School Business Administration* (1956), and *Budgeting for Better Schools* by Osview and Castetter (1960) can serve as excellent overviews of budget-making and its role in school finance.

The psychologist-administrator will have some problems, however, that apply particularly to his own job of budget-making. One of these refers to the fact that psychologists in the decade of the sixties command high prices, sometimes out of line with those needed to employ other personnel. This must be interpreted to the school administration. Where psychologists are rated, together with other specialists, on a single salary scale with teachers, problems of staffing become acute. This is a problem so deeply imbedded in the operation of schools that solution is difficult, except as school boards and school executives face up to the different training and responsibilities expected of various groups.

The manpower situation in psychology suggests that another imperative duty for the psychologist-administrator is the planning of ways to articulate the work of persons with varying levels of competency and with different kinds of training. In its simplest form this would refer to the importance of secretarial and clerical staff. Two psychologists with one first-rate secretary between them may be able to do as much as three psychologists with no

secretarial help. And this arrangement would cost less. The psychologist who must work out his statistical computations by hand is receiving a psychologist's pay for a task more appropriate to a clerk with a calculating machine. In a more complex form, such budgeting might address itself to the paying of individuals who would not function broadly as school psychologists but who could perform effectively in some more limited capacities. This has been discussed at some length in other chapters. It is mentioned here only to point its relevance to the question of budget making.

A third consideration for the psychologist-administrator might be what is sometimes called a performance budget (Morphet *et al.*, 1959, p. 443). The performance budget is designed chiefly to tell a lay public what is achieved with a given amount rather than what is bought, the more usual purpose of a budget. The psychologist-administrator who can give an adequate picture of what may be achieved with budgets of varying size has an opportunity to point up the potentials of psychological services for furthering the general purposes of the schools. This does not obviate the need for different kinds of interpretative material. It does, however, place the budget where it most appropriately belongs in the thinking of most persons not technically involved in budget making. It places the budget squarely in the areas of what is to be accomplished, or could be accomplished, with a given expenditure of money.

DECISION MAKING AND COMMUNICATION. The term, executive function, carries with it another connotation. This refers to the fact that the administrator must be the one who acts. Someone ultimately has to make the decision and to take responsibility for it. This is not always a popular role; it can be painful to the person who must enact it. No amount of "democratic action" or group decision can make it possible to avoid the fact that someone must act as the executant; someone must carry out the will, wish, or order of the group. And someone must decide how best to do this. Usually that person is the administrative officer. Decision making is a lonely task. Seldom is the evidence for or against a given pathway unequivocal. The decisions one reaches will never make everyone happy. All requests can never be granted.

The point of this argument is not simply that being an administrator may make one unpopular, or that it creates a distance between the administrator and the persons with whom he must deal in an authoritative capacity. These are occupational constraints the administrator must experience. A more important moral, however, is the need this suggests for the fullest possible communication of the administrator with his staff members. Communication is at best time-consuming, and the administrator of a psychological service is apt to be an extremely busy person. Like himself, however, his staff members are a part of common humanity—they are threatened; they feel misunderstood; they bicker; they resent changes they do not understand; they take sides. Misunderstandings and threats flourish in a lack of communication. Any psychological service, if it is to be adequate in the present and in the future, must grow and change as new techniques are developed, as new needs arise in the schools. Any Board of Education makes decisions that affect the psychological services of a school system. Any superintendent will choose some alternatives that the psychologists will be unhappy with. All these must be interpreted to that staff, and the staff must be given opportunity to express its feelings and to adjust to the changes as best it may.

Yet adequate communication practices do not characterize many administrators, whether psychologists or others. The reasons are not hard to find. Most cogent is the pressure of time. Just as few teachers have any notion of the demands upon their superintendent's time, probably few psychologists have a good picture of the demands upon the head of their unit. Partly because of the time pressure, and partly because he is forced to bear the burden of decision making, the administrator can very easily become defensive and avoid contact. Or he can take another route and give decisions arbitrarily and flatly. Certainly, the good administrator does not respond in either of these ways but they are easy traps to fall into. There is no answer, really, as to the ideal way to maintain communication with staff members. There will always be an uneasy balance between the pressure of time and the need for unhurried communication. Perhaps the best that can be done is for the administrator to realize that

this is of such major importance that he must give it high priority if his unit is to function effectively with all its members.

Much of what has just been said relates to the fact that the administrator is usually expected by his staff to serve two roles, that of the expressive leader and that of the instrumental leader. This point has been discussed at some length in Chapter 9. Task orientation is expected of him in most situations. It is not enough to be a Good Joe and a kindly father-figure. But it is also not enough just to see that the work is done without regard for the enhancement needs and personal satisfactions of the staff. Herein lies the essential tension of the administrator's job.

Training, Supervisory, and Evaluative Functions

In order to maintain a well-functioning unit, and to improve it, the psychologist-administrator must continually look to the quality of the product of his service. Three major aspects of this quality control are training (including orientation), supervision, and evaluation. They will be discussed in turn.

ORIENTATION. At the time of this writing, psychologists are an extremely mobile group. This is partly a reflection of the general mobility of the American population, where the average family moves once every five years. The manpower situation has also meant that employment in psychology acts as a seller's market. Buyers (employers in this case) compete with offers of higher pay, more fringe benefits. Thus psychologists move from job to job. Any administrator of a psychological service will be faced often with the problem of inducting new staff members into his working unit.

Whatever the background and experience of a new staff member, he will need some time to become familiar with the particular school system in which he will operate. In addition, the person who comes from another state, or without experience in the schools, will need to learn something of the educational structure of the state of which the local system is a part.

Chapter 8, on schools and school personnel, attempted to point out some of the general characteristics of schools and of the people who fill various jobs within them. Beyond this, however, one must look for the particular limits and potentials, constraints

and opportunities of a given school system and the community which it serves. Rural Retreat, Virginia, is a long way from Los Angeles in more ways than miles.

New staff members can acquire the needed information and perspective in a number of ways. Obviously, one of the best is from someone who already knows the situation and approaches events from the same occupational slant. In a large office of psychological services, each new member may be given the opportunity to work closely with a seasoned member of the service, the acquiring of such knowledge being one of the major purposes of the relationship. Sufficient time to explore the schools and the community, to talk with teachers and principals, welfare workers and community leaders, shopkeepers and clergy, can add depth to the picture. Attending various kinds of school meetings—school board, PTA, teachers, gatherings—can fill in further details.

In addition, much material relevant to a given school system is likely to be available in printed form. Annual reports of school systems, budget proposals, the administrative code of a school district, periodical newsletters, teachers' bulletins, school directories—all of these help fill in the details of what a school system is like. Furthermore, there is often much information important in a specific fashion to an office of psychological services. Where a service is growing rapidly, or experiencing much turnover, it may be expedient and wise to gather such necessary information into a handbook. It takes a great deal of time to work up such a handbook, but if it is developed so that it can serve with the necessary revisions for two or three years, it can be a tremendous timesaver.

The kinds of information that might well be incorporated into such a handbook might include the following:

Information on schools in the system and school staff (if this is not already available in a school directory)
Locations of records on children
Location of test materials
Referral procedures
Report procedures
Services available in the community

Such handbooks carry within them a seed of danger. There is a possibility of overspecifying, of suggesting a cut-and-dried approach to school problems. If one can avoid this hazard, however, a handbook can do a great deal to cut down on confusion and on the necessity for continued repetition of information the psychologist should have readily available at all times.

TRAINING NEW STAFF. Many newly employed school psychologists will lack some of the skills needed on the job. Some will come inadequately trained, others will be retreads from another field of psychology. These persons will need more than an orientation to the particular nature of a given school system. They must also be given training and supervised experience in their job activities. Ideally, many of these things should be acquired during the internship period of one's training. The probability during the decade of the sixties, however, is that many people will have to be trained partially on the job. The psychologist-administrator may thus find that one of his major jobs is serving as a supervisor-trainer for his new staff. Where his staff is large he may be able to delegate much of this to his more highly trained staff members, where there are only a few persons on his staff, he may find it wise to do this himself.

The techniques for such in-service training are as varied as the techniques of graduate training in general. The particular advantage for the supervisor-trainer in such a situation is that the problems a new staff member faces are concrete and immediate. If the supervisor can so arrange the situation that the new person is aware of his need for new skills and knowledge, and if he can then provide the necessary instructional and supervisory help, the problem is often solved. The new staff member needs to be exposed to the kinds of situations with which he must learn to cope; he should be observed in these situations; he should be given opportunity to evaluate these experiences with someone in a position to help him assess them adequately. Beyond this he needs to be given opportunity to learn new ways of coping with these situations.

Often learning such new ways demands delving into psychological literature. Thus an administrator must give attention to

his office library or to the availability of psychological publications in some other convenient place. It also means that the new staff member should be given opportunity to serve as an observer in situations similar to those in which he needs to enhance his own skills. For example, if he is having difficulty in conferences with parents, he should sit in on a few interviews handled by someone highly skilled in this area. He should then re-examine these conferences with the person who was conducting them. He may need to tape his own interviews and go over them with a supervisor. Above all, he will need access to someone who can help him acquire the skills he needs to master. Such training and supervision is highly time consuming. It may well demand several hours of supervision a week. In the long view, however, a great deal of time spent with a neophyte—provided he is bright and motivated to learn—will pay increasing dividends as the years go on. A half day a week may seem an extravagant amount of time to spend on a new staff member. The time is well expended, however, if it can clearly improve his functioning, and particularly if it can enable him in future years to take on this same kind of supervision for new staff members.

THE ON-GOING SUPERVISION OF AN OFFICE OF PSYCHOLOGICAL SERVICES. But it is not only the new and inexperienced members of a staff who can profit from some measure of supervision and training. In even a highly trained staff, there are many opportunities—and demands—for enhancing skills already at an adequate level. New knowledge and techniques developed in the field of psychology will suggest new applications to the schools. Even the best service unit declines when it stands still. All staff members should be given opportunities for enhancing skills, for following new developments, for testing out provocative new hypotheses. In practical terms this means several things: Staff members need to be given opportunity to take advantage of the skills of their fellow staff members. Perhaps Staff Member A is the one person who knows the most about research design. Certainly other staff members should be given the chance to consult with him on their own problems of designing school research. Staff Member B has had considerable training and experience

in assessing neurological damage in children; others should have an opportunity to go over diagnoses with him and to ask his advice.

To avoid stagnation opportunities should be provided for school psychologists to study in the summer at universities, to attend special workshops and institutes. Often a chance to teach extension or evening courses or to serve as consultant to an agency may be an eye-opener in giving new perspective to situations which have become dulled through familiarity.

In addition there is much of an educational nature that can be done through the office of psychological services. Regular staff meetings can be addressed not only to the minutiae of the job but to examining new trends and issues within the whole field of psychology as they impinge on the schools. Planning sessions devoted to the long-range goals of the psychological services can help each member evaluate his own professional development.

Perhaps the critical variable in all in-service education is that of establishing an atmosphere of the importance of continuing to be a scholar in one's field and of developing one's skills as a practitioner of that field. The next chapter, on the professional development of the psychologist, presents some suggestions for such staff improvement. The administrator's role will chiefly be that of establishing such conditions and giving such encouragement—or prodding—as may be needed to make each member of his staff a self-propelled system.

EVALUATION AND ASSESSMENT OF THE PSYCHOLOGICAL SERVICES UNIT. Any group that is trying to move forward must ask itself the question of how much progress it is making toward its goals; it must assess that movement and evaluate the procedures used.

An office of psychological services will have many problems that center around such stock-taking. In common with other educational services it is hard to formulate clear-cut objectives. The quality of the educational product, the school graduate, is the resultant of many forces operating upon him; it is difficult, if not impossible, to assign causation.

In most school systems, the psychological services division is likely to be heavily burdened with service functions. This is so

true that one is loathe to take away valuable time from one's immediate demands to ask instead the question of where one has been going and how far one has come. Yet the situation is paradoxical. The very nature of an overloaded service demands that some time be staked out for evaluation. The more the need for service, the more the need for sober evaluation of the adequacy of the service provided.

The psychologist, of all school personnel, should be most in sympathy with a data-oriented empirical approach. He should thus feel it incumbent upon himself to ask the question of the adequacy of his own work and that of his staff. Are they approaching the goals they have set up? What are the strengths of the service? What are the weaknesses? Is the organization of the service appropriate? Is too much time being spent on some areas? Too little on others? Questions could be multiplied endlessly. Many of them do not admit an easy solution. Yet these questions must be asked if one is to know whether he is merely beating the air or is instead on flight toward his destination.

Luckey (1963) has suggested that the use of an annual report can be a valuable first step in such evaluation. An accounting of what has actually been done in a division of psychological services can give one a picture of adequacy of coverage, of emerging problems with which a service must deal. Looking at the pattern from different schools may give one some leads as to the functioning of different psychologists.

Beyond this, the field is wide as to the particular research techniques the psychologist might use in such evaluation. Sometimes it may be the use of critical rates, or nosecounts. Has the dropout rate changed since psychological services were instituted in a given school system? How about the prevalence of juvenile delinquency, the number of cases of reading disability? Have classroom climates improved with a change in psychological services? How about changes in peer ratings of children who have been helped individually? And what do the teachers think of psychological services? The alert psychologist can collect many kinds of data that are easily available and that may have some bearing on the adequacy with which his unit functions. It would be tragic indeed if the office of psychological services were like

the shoemaker's children, and went barefoot while the psychologists were busy setting up research designs to evaluate other aspects of school practice.

Program Development

If psychology and psychologists are to perform the broadened roles suggested in this book, the most important job for the administrator in an office of psychological services is that of program development. He must concern himself with the continual improvement of his service. This he must do in light of emerging knowledge and new points of view in psychology that may apply to the kaleidoscopic range of new problems and demands arising in the schools.

For the present, and probably for many years to come, the school psychologist will have to grapple with the manpower problem. He will also have to cope with those two familiar role prescriptions for the school psychologist, the tester for placement in special groups, and the local fireman called in to handle emergency situations. These roles cannot be ignored, yet they form a limited base for any far-reaching program of psychological services. Any psychologist must set aside some inviolable time each day or week for program projection and development if he is not to remain permanently in a quagmire of day-by-day demands.

Long-range planning is the only way out of this morass. This does not mean establishing a blue print for action to follow faithfully month by month and year by year. It does mean, however, the careful establishing of long-term goals. If one has a series of goals in mind for a five or even a ten-year period, he is then in a position to evaluate each new demand—or opportunity—that arises. One can be certain that the psychologist-administrator will be able to do only a limited number of the things he would like to do—or that other people would like him to do. Therefore he must learn to select sharply. Many opportunities may appear golden, but they may be precious metal in terms of someone else's purposes, not his. A tempting byway opens up, and it is hard not to rush down it, unless one has one's destination clearly in mind. Or contrariwise, an opportunity may arise to do

something directly in line with one's long-term goals, but, as ever with such opportunities, at a time when it is highly inconvenient. Dropping everything else and taking full advantage of this opportunity may be the wisest thing a person can do. But it is only when he can view this opportunity in terms of his long-range goals that he will see the importance of pursuing it, however difficult it may be at that time.

The importance of long-range objectives has been stressed by Hobbs (1959), in an essay upon the psychologist as administrator. It is his conviction that the university psychology departments that bend to every wind that blows grow progressively weaker over the years. The departments that prosper are those with distinct and abiding self-images. The same will apply to an office of psychological services.

Good illustrations of tempting byways often arise in terms of foundation or government money that suddenly becomes available for a given type of research or demonstration project. Since government and foundation support usually relate to the prevailing interests and pressures of the times, the chances are that money will be available in areas appropriate to the goals of most psychological services. On the other hand, there is a fad or immediate pressure element in some kinds of available support. At the risk of offending some persons who would see this function as central to the role of the school psychologist, we might take the pressure in the early sixties for the establishment in the public schools of classes for emotionally disturbed children. No one would argue that this is unimportant or that emotionally disturbed children do not need education with public support. The psychologist in the schools, however, who is interested in positive mental health and in the prevention of mental illness might easily drain all of his energies into working with emotionally disturbed children, if he yields completely to this pressure. Emotionally disturbed children present highly complex problems of clinical evaluation and treatment that can well absorb the energies of the most talented clinical psychologist. If the psychologist has a long-range goal in mind that relates to the general mental health of all the children in the schools, he will not let the emotionally disturbed assume the major portion

of his energies. Instead he will assign to them a more appropriate amount in balance with his ultimate aims.

Or take a minor illustration of the opposite situation—grasping an opportunity even when at a highly inconvenient time. The psychologist is called over the phone one Wednesday evening by the program chairman of the Ladies' Thursday Club. They want him to take the place next evening of a speaker who is ill; he may choose his subject. The psychologist is busy; he has a sore throat; he even has a club meeting he is supposed to attend the next night. No one, including the ladies' club, will blame him if he declines the request. But this group is made up of some of the opinion leaders of the community; here would be a rare chance to reach them. He might be able to arouse their interest in a program he is trying to develop for extending cultural opportunities to the deprived youngsters of the city. So he sits up half the night, ill as he is, to write a speech calculated to get his point across to this group of influential women.

The oracle at Delphi had three inscriptions upon it. The first was, the oft-quoted *Know thyself*. The second, somewhat less familiar, was *Know thy opportunity*. In essence, the second inscription is the principle of long-range planning. The skilled program developer is alert to his opportunity and recognizes it in whatever guise it knocks upon his door.

As the psychologist-administrator goes about developing a program of action for a period of years, a major concern must be the problem of communication and of sharing ideas and aspirations with others. It is fatuous to point out that his goals will have little viability if they are not also the goals of the staff. Everyone gives lip service to this idea, but the actuality is not always so easy. Much of it relates to the point made earlier that the administrator must face up to the necessity of devoting a major part of his energies to problems of communication. This means communication upwards and downwards, and also across. That is, he must be available to communicate freely with his staff, they with him, and each staff member with the other. It also means continual reinterpretation to staff members as new ones come in, continual reinterpretation to school personnel and to the community. In a word, he must serve as leader. He must fulfill both

expressive and instrumental functions if he is to be successful in mounting and carrying out a long-range program. He must carry the group with him, and he must be able to perform the instrumental acts that enable the group to bring the program into being.

A careful study of the vast literature upon leadership behavior, and indeed upon administrative behavior in general, can be of major value to the psychologist who would serve in this capacity. The writer will not attempt to summarize such material; this would require at least a book of its own. There is one point, however, that the writer would like to stress in such leadership. This relates to the power of an idea, a social invention, or new departure with promise for coping with the problems of the school and nation in years to come. This is in essence Bismarck's saying: No army can withstand an idea whose time has come. The psychologist who can seize upon an idea at the right point of time and translate it into appropriate action will have a following.

Long-range programs must also include within them major consideration for the persons who will be carrying out these programs. For the psychologist-administrator this means that he must give attention to recruitment and to staff development in the light of long-term objectives. Again, what is needed is not a blueprint but some general guidelines. The administrator may know, for instance, that some time in the next three years he must employ someone who has more skill in learning disabilities than anyone now on his staff. He must also employ someone who has more competence in measurement than do any of his present people. Which he employs first will depend on which, in the form of a promising candidate, becomes available first. His long-range plan will keep him, however, from employing a second person who has basically the same competencies as the first just because the person was available and well-trained. In the same way the administrator knows that some time in the next five years his staff needs to build up certain competencies. Which one has the opportunity to go to summer school or to special institutes at a given time will depend upon a fitting together of the opportunity and appropriate person for it. In the

five-year period each of the persons and each of the competencies would have consideration. One will have his time at the computer center, another her summer at a camp for emotionally disturbed youngsters, a third will go to Bethel for the National Training Laboratories Workshop some July. But all of these will fit into the long-range plans for the development of the psychological services and the persons within it.

Forms of Administrative Organization for Psychological Services

Just as there are all manners of organizing psychological services into a total administrative organization, there are all ways of organizing the service itself. As Luckey (1963) points out, there are two extremes of practice. One is a tight organization where everything—and everybody—comes into and goes out from the central office. The other extreme is one in which each psychologist sets up his own office in the particular schools to which he is assigned and functions virtually as an independent psychologist for these schools. The advantage of the first extreme is uniformity and a central program; the advantage of the latter is flexibility and the development of responsibility.

In most situations some middle ground is probably best. If a psychological services unit is to have shared goals among its members, and if it is to have any sort of general program, some degree of central control and organization is imperative. Otherwise, there is simply a multiplicity of small psychological units. Some central control is also of considerable importance where persons differ greatly in competency. Psychologists with limited training can be fitted into an organization where functions are allocated differently in accordance with competence. Records can be more easily taken care of; it is easier to evaluate the general success and direction of the whole program of service. In addition, continuity can be provided for children known to the service as they move from school to school. On the other hand, central efficiency and clarity of organization can be purchased at the price of effectiveness in working relationships and of growth of personal competence. The psychologist who is identified closely with a few particular schools is seen by the teachers

as "their" psychologist; he learns to know the schools and the staff well. He works with a wider range of problems—and people. He learns to assume responsibility.

Fortunately, it is not an either-or situation. It is possible to organize services so that there is sufficient uniformity, supervision of personnel, and efficient handling of records to prevent confusion and duplication. At the same time it is possible to station staff in various schools so that they do maintain continued contacts with limited numbers of teachers and school children.

In large services, those with ten or more psychologists, an effective measure may be to divide the staff into two or more subgroups, on a geographical basis. This keeps the psychologists close to the schools with which they are working—often a major problem in a large service—but permits enough centralization to develop a general program appropriate to the given school district. It gives an opportunity for psychologists to work together and thus have some check and evaluation upon their own performances and to learn from one another. This in a sense is the old dictum of Jefferson's. In the last years of his life, Jefferson wrote: "As Cato concluded every speech with the words, 'Carthago delenda est,' so do I every opinion with the injunction, 'Divide the county into wards.'"

From the standpoint of the schools the office of psychological services is just what its name says; it is a service for the schools. A service function implies flexibility. It should not imply such yielding to the pressures of the moment that it is impossible to develop any long-range program. But it does mean that psychological services must ever be planned in cognizance of the emerging needs of the settings in which such services are to be used. One major task of the psychologist-administrator is to help the people whom he serves take the most far-reaching view possible of how best to utilize the skills of the psychologists who work in their midst.

A FINAL WORD

Why be an administrator, other than that somebody has to?

For the psychologist, administration often forces him to make

compromises with those goals he has been taught in graduate school to see as most important in scientific and professional life. Specifically, the psychologist who serves as an administrator will find it hard to be a scholar in his field and to carry on research of a far-reaching nature. The situation is probably much as C. P. Snow (1961) has expressed it in broader context in his *Science and Government*:

A great many scientists have a trace of the obsessional. Many kinds of creative science, perhaps most, could not do without it. To be good, in his youth at least, a scientist has to think of one thing, deeply and obsessively, for a long time. An administrator has to think of a great many things, widely, in their interconnections, for a short time. I believe . . . that persons of scientific education can make excellent administrators and provide an element without which we shall be groping, but I agree that scientists in their creative periods do not easily get interested in administrative problems and are not likely to be much good at them (p. 72).

Administration, then, is often seen by psychologists as taking them away from rather than toward their most scientific and professional goals as individuals. This is true, if one's goals are entirely personal in nature. Yet it is false if one's concern is not alone with kudos, or with personal recognition. For example, one may have to give up for the most part a career as individual researcher, but one may have more opportunity to enable others to carry on their research, to suggest directions for new research, and to build appropriate conditions for carrying on experimentation. Again, one may not be able to derive the satisfactions from working in direct contact with school teachers and children. But one can make it possible for more teachers and children to have just such contacts, albeit the contacts are with others.

Perhaps what is being said is that the administrator need not expect much immediate reinforcement from others. Someone has said of administrators that they can either get the work done, or get the credit for so doing—not both. For the person, however, with sufficient skills and breadth of understanding to handle the complexities of administering a psychological service with deftness and creativeness, the rewards are great in terms of inner satisfaction. The effective administrator, in psychological service

as elsewhere, is the cosmos-maker, the one who can bring order out of chaos. And in imposing this order, he can direct it toward the accomplishment of those long-range goals most congruent with the emerging needs of the schools and the potentials of psychology for fulfilling these needs.

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14

PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT

How long since you have been a student? Persons with professional training often hear this question. There is only one right answer: "I have never ceased to be a student." In a world where knowledge in many fields expands geometrically no one can serve adequately as a professional unless he remains a scholar of his field. How to continue to be a student in the midst of many job demands is a central issue of professional development for the school psychologist.

Another dominant problem is how to make experience count. There is the sad, old tale of the teacher rated on a salary schedule as having had twenty years of experience. Actually the teacher instead had had the same one year of experience twenty times over. How can one learn by one's past mistakes—and successes? How can one plan one's professional career so that it leads to the development of the best potential within one?

This chapter addresses itself to some of the issues involved in developing such potential. It is directed largely at the graduate

student, although it is hoped that the practicing school psychologist will find some of the material germane to his own concerns for professional development.

Over the centuries, universities and other institutions of learning wisely have used for the graduation exercises the term, Commencement. The individual who goes forth from the psychology department, diploma in hand, has a long hill to climb before he has reached the level of skill, competence, and wisdom that represents his profession at its best.

SOME OCCUPATIONAL HAZARDS

Every profession has its weaknesses, its points of overemphasis and of neglect. School psychology is no exception. Some of these characteristics may be seen as occupational hazards, modes of thinking or circumstances accompanying a profession that serve to handicap its members in their professional development.

Blind Spots and Distortion Lenses

There is a French term, *deformation professionnelle*, which refers to the particular bias or warping created by one's profession. Every school psychologist needs to be aware of those forces that shape him professionally for good and sometimes for ill.

The psychologist in the schools must on occasion feel like Peer Gynt when confronted by the button molder. In a new situation he discovers that people have certain expectations for him. These persons prescribe various roles that may not fit his idea of how he can work most effectively. The one role for the psychologist that is familiar to most lay persons is the giver of individual intelligence tests. It is easy to yield to such a prescription, to be melted down and cast into the tester's mold. Even in places where views are less limited, expectations are often not congruent with all the psychologist has to offer. Sometimes it may seem easier to succumb to such expectations than to continue interpreting to the appropriate people the other skills and knowledge one has to offer.

Graduate school, too, creates certain professional blind spots. For example, training for the psychologist usually tends to focus more on the individual than on the group. Wickman's (1928) old finding has already been cited. The reader will recall that in his study the teachers and the mental hygienists almost reversed rankings of the seriousness of a list of behavior problems. The difference in focus on individual or group is not the only point of contrast between the teachers and the mental health specialists. But teachers were particularly concerned with violations of classroom order and school regulations, and with behaviors disturbing to other individuals. One can hardly consider this as ignorance alone in teachers. The psychologist may look upon Billy's noisy, boisterous behavior in the classroom as an effective way for Billy to work off some of his tensions. He would hardly view it so charitably if he were responsible for its effect upon the thirty other children in the teacher's classroom. The classroom is a social setting, where what one child does affects the well-being of thirty other children, and where the most effective medium for creating change may be through the classmates of a child. It is the wise school psychologist who directs his attention to the group as well as the individual child who may be his immediate focus of concern.

Another point of view psychology seems to engender in its students is the directing of attention to internal and interpersonal variables more than to broad environmental influences or the physical shaping of behavior. For instance, a school principal once related to the writer that he solved a discipline problem in a group of rapidly growing adolescent boys in parsimonious fashion. The problem consisted of noisy, restless, and irritable behavior in these youngsters that reached a peak around eleven o'clock in the morning. We can imagine the psychologist's concerning himself with the adolescent's striving for social acceptance, his struggle for independence, his changing image of self. The principal saw the problem in another way; it occurred to him that this might be a problem of sudden drop in the level of blood sugar. What the boys needed was simply to be fed. And something to eat at 10:30 did quiet them down.

Still another professional blind spot engendered in graduate school is the tendency to look always for inner dynamics, a search for the covert meaning of the overt behavior. Valuable as this approach may be in dealing with the disturbed and distressed—and on many occasions with the jog-trot-run of humanity—it is possible to go overboard. Perhaps we should transpose the Captain's song in that Freudian masterpiece, *H.M.S. Pinafore*, so that it would run:

Things are sometimes what they seem

Skimmed milk may not masquerade as cream.

As Gordon Allport (1953) demonstrated some years ago, in normal individuals—unlike neurotics—descriptions of motivation on self-reports will be quite similar to those on projective tests. People sometimes do say what they mean.

A professional distortion the psychologist shares with many other disciplines is a certain overvaluation of his particular discipline. Thus the school psychologist may have reservations about the school social worker's counseling with children. He may feel that the guidance workers do not have the training he considers adequate for aptitude testing. True, their training is different in kind, and sometimes in amount. It is also true that school social work, guidance, and other specialties working within the schools have long histories of professional training and development. One of the sorriest sights in the schools today is the duplication of effort and lack of articulation that occurs in many systems. With the great need in the schools today for such members of the helping professions, surely the most productive approach is to learn to work together.

Bower (1955) has suggested a final blindspot that may obscure the vision of those psychologists who work in relative isolation, as will many who are employed in the schools. This is the tendency to overestimate the value of one's own particular approach, when there is little opportunity to compare and contrast it with the methods and techniques of one's fellow psychologists. The school psychologist, more highly trained than the majority of teachers, is usually viewed by them with respect, sometimes almost with awe. In Bower's words, he can become the "Merlin

of the staff," the magic worker. The role of expert can be a seductive one indeed, unless one is on guard against it.

The Status Problem

Like everyone else, school psychologists feel a need for status. And like other professional people, the school psychologist in general has two broad avenues which may be used to achieve status. One is status within his own profession; the other is within his community.

Some years ago Helen Wolffe (1949), in a review of publications on social class, suggested that in professional fields today, at least in psychology, the meaningful status was position in one's own professional group. She goes on to suggest a social status scale for psychologists, ranging from the grand theory makers—her illustration is Hull—down to the person whose only contribution to the field is to teach in incompetent and indifferent style. Anyone who has ever attended a meeting of the American Psychological Association—and watched from five to ten thousand persons running to and fro, bent on social and professional concerns—will see the cogency of Helen Wolffe's views.

The school psychologist, however, faces a situation quite different from that of his academic brethren. He usually works further from the growing edge of knowledge in psychology. It is not easy for him to obtain a status in his professional group unless he allies himself with others who already enjoy a clearly defined status. Chapter 2 suggested that the role of the clinician was probably the one by which the school psychologist has most easily achieved status in his national professional groups. Thus the psychologist in the schools may be pushed toward glorifying the clinical role. But if school psychology, as a professional specialty, is to prosper, it must do so in its own right, not as an adjunct to some other group.

The school psychologist who takes the other road and seeks status in his community finds it fairly easy to satisfy his needs locally. The danger lies in becoming encapsulated, in divorcing himself from those who can contribute most directly to his scholarly and professional growth.

Isolation from the Mainstream of Psychology

The school psychologist will usually find it takes considerable effort to keep himself close to the developing body of knowledge and techniques in the field. Even those in universities, with extensive libraries and with colleagues of varied training, find this keeping up to be demanding. How much more so will this be a problem for the lone psychologist or the one in a small group. This may be the most serious of all the hazards of the school psychologist. The latter part of this chapter will suggest some ways of coping with this pervasive problem.

The Mountain of Glass

Service begets service. We return to the now familiar point that in the helping professions the picture is generally one of the more that service is provided, the more it is demanded. The psychologist will never get to the end of service demands. For every successful case that the school psychologist handles, two more—perhaps less serious but still demanding attention—will take its place.

New techniques must be developed for coping with the service demands. Somehow one must find a balance between the ultimately important and the immediate and urgent service needs. Yet even the most inventive school psychologist will find that coping with service demands can be a major occupational hazard. There will be overwhelming pressure, both external and internal, towards seeing this as his sole function.

A possible correlate of the external pressure to meet service demands may be the assuming of a martyr's role. This is perhaps a hazard to which the feminine members of the profession are particularly vulnerable. Their early training in the home may orient them more toward the direct serving of others than does the training of the boy, where there is generally more focus on achievement. In any case, male or female, one can very easily become a martyr in school psychology, if this is what one wishes. But the overwhelmed, tied down, worn out school psychologist is not the one who will make a sizable contribution to the field or to the schools, if viewed in the long perspective.

GRADUS AD PARNASSUM

The life of the psychologist in the schools is not entirely one of hazards and constraints. It is also one of many freedoms, and of challenge, of particular advantages and opportunities. The ways he uses of overcoming the hazards, of making strengths out of potential weaknesses, and of exploiting to the fullest his opportunities for professional development, will determine how far he can ascend up the steep slopes of Parnassus. Our task must now be one of inquiring into some of the steps up this mountain-side.

Effective Working Conditions and Equipment

The writer knows a high-salaried school psychologist who finds it necessary to do all of his statistical calculations by hand; he is undoubtedly the most highly paid clerical worker in the school system. This is a ridiculous waste of manpower. It is true that electric calculators are expensive. It is also true, however, that a thousand dollars spent on such a machine will repay its cost in a year or two in terms of time saved and in increased accuracy. Administrators have their blind spots too. One of these seems to be a lack of understanding of the amount of clerical work imposed on many specialists in the schools. It is not that the psychologist is "too good" to add up a column of figures or total a sum of squares. There are simply cheaper ways of getting the work done.

In the same way, a psychologist who must type out his own reports is taking time he might more appropriately spend in using his particular professional skills. Secretarial help is not free, but in general it is considerably less expensive than the psychologist's time. In addition, good dictating equipment is one of the greatest savers of the psychologist's time, to say nothing of his secretary's, if he will learn how to use it efficiently.

So obvious that it would not need mentioning—except that it is more honored in the breach than in the observance—is the need for adequate office space with privacy for interviews and conferences. Psychologists can get along without office space as they can get along without secretaries and office machines. Obviously

such support is not essential for using one's skills. It makes an enormous difference, however, in the level of productivity of the psychologist concerned.

Let the reader try a little exercise. Assume for a moment that he is a well-trained school psychologist in a system with 6,000 children. He is the only psychologist, and at present has no sort of secretarial or clerical assistance. He is told that there is \$12,000 available in the budget for him to use to increase the service of his office. With a ratio of 6,000 children to a lone psychologist, the first impulse might be to spend the bulk of the money to employ another well-trained school psychologist. A second thought, however, might indicate that two well-trained persons with no support from secretarial and clerical workers might be less productive than one psychologist with a first rate full-time secretary, a half-time clerical worker, and appropriate office machines—typewriter and dictating equipment, calculator, and so on. The money in the budget would pay the salaries and buy the machines. Machines once bought would last a number of years. In another year, on the same budget, money could be spent for a part-time psychological staff member. This last is probably a realistic suggestion in terms of the number of women who would wish to work part-time. In large communities one can often find such women with psychological training. Learning to get the most for one's money is a crucial skill in the psychologist's office as well as in the home. What all this means is surely that good working conditions are worth fighting for, with all one's ingenuity and persuasiveness.

Handling the Service Load

Earlier in the chapter it was suggested that the psychologist must come to terms with the fact that only in rare incidences, if ever, can he manage to meet the demand for services to individual pupils. There is really no solution to this problem, except in those rare cases where the psychologist-to-pupil ratio may be as low as one to eight hundred. Even here, it will be remembered that service demands continue to expand. Only the school psychologist who has a firm role commitment to a broader view of functioning, and who carefully makes out and adheres to his

ordering of priorities, can keep from being submerged. This is a matter of balance, not of ignoring service demands. The psychologist who sees these demands in the perspective of the multifaceted needs of the school, may be able to keep this balance between the urgent and the ultimate but important.

School people are not simply perverse when they continue to ply the psychologist with service demands. In most situations there are certain mandatory functions for the school psychologist; the most typical is testing for special class placement. School people with no other contact with what the psychologist can do will obviously see the job in this light. Anyone, whether in school, or home, or market place, finds it hard to envisage the long-term consequences of acts. Testing Jenny today tells us what her I.Q. is this very afternoon; working toward improving the social climate of Mrs. Clemons' fifth grade classroom will show results only in months or years, if ever. The moral is certainly that the school psychologist will need continually to interpret to his fellow workers, and indeed to all of the school staff, the importance of long-range activities. He must help them see that service, if one means meeting the needs of the schools, is far broader than working with individual children. He must win their support for action that may not yield fruit in the near future, but that bears promise of a richer harvest in the years to come.

Seven at One Blow

One of the lessons a school psychologist must learn, as must any other busy person who would be productive, is to be like the little tailor of the fairy story. One may not be able to solve seven problems with every act. But the school psychologist who wishes to avoid being bogged down in the daily grind must develop a strategy of making each effort count at least double or treble. Such an approach has been a pervasive emphasis of this book. For example, to return to an earlier illustration, take the psychologist who wishes to work with teachers to help them develop in their classes a climate more conducive to the mental health of children. The strategy of the greatest return for the given amount of effort would suggest that he choose those teach-

ers most capable of change. He would, in addition, select those who deal with children in their most formative years, the primary teachers. He would work with the new teachers, and with those who serve as role models for the other teachers. In any case, he would look for the situations that promised the greatest diffusion to others of what he was teaching those with whom he was working.

The alert school psychologist in his data gathering for the school system, as in the group testing program, can plan his collection of data in such fashion that it answers questions important to the school system, or indeed to the field of education at large. The writer knows a school psychologist who planned an intensive preschool testing program so that it served not only the purpose of some kind of classification of the children before school entrance, but also provided a large amount of data for making comparisons between socioeconomic groups, boys and girls, those with and without kindergarten experience. It also provided material for follow-up studies of the youngsters and for validation of the predictions made on the basis of the test data. This psychologist was able to render a major service to the schools. At the same time he was able to collect data to provide partial answers to a few of the questions that plague educators as they attempt to provide appropriate schooling for a wide variety of children as they enter first grade.

Establishing University Contacts

In choosing a job, one might weigh heavily the availability of library sources and the possibility of making university contacts. This advice may appear as cynical as the old dictum: "Don't marry for money, but marry where money is." Surely, however, if one can realize his potential—and thus make his maximum contribution to society—better in some situations than in others, it is not narrow self-seeking to hunt those situations where the opportunities are greatest. Furthermore, a general recognition on the part of school systems that such contacts are important for the school psychologist might have positive merit. Many a town has improved its city management, even its school system, in order to attract desirable industries. Perhaps school executives

may come to give more concern to providing opportunities for professional development to the psychologists on their staffs, if this becomes an important issue in job choice.

There are several reasons why university contacts are of particular value. One is that it gives the school psychologist the chance to associate with the scholars of his field, rather than largely with the practitioners of the discipline. The interchange of any group of practitioners, their chats at coffee breaks and luncheon conversations, are apt to center around the common problems and concerns of their practice. There is nothing wrong with this; in fact, there is much that is right. Yet if one associates occasionally with groups who see their field largely as scholars and research workers rather than as practitioners, balance is added to one's outlook.

Some indication of the importance of such stimulation from colleagues is given by Clark (1957) in *America's Psychologists*. Both the "significant contributors" to psychological science (selected through a variety of indices of eminence) and the "psychologists-in-general" (a random sample of APA members not nominated as significant contributors) listed as the single most important factor in facilitating research the stimulation and encouragement received from others. Next most important was "interest, drive, curiosity, needs." Somewhat surprisingly the availability of time and also of research funds did not rank high in the list of factors.

As a second reason, the university may also be for the school psychologist a source of particular technical knowledge. Most salient here is probably the availability of the skills involved in designing research. To repeat some points made in Chapter 4, as experimental design has become an increasingly technical and complex field, few school psychologists have sufficient time or training to devote to becoming experts in the subject. Within any sizable university department, however, one can generally find one or more persons who are experts in this area, and who can help one set up research so that it will answer in the most economical and precise way possible those questions one's research is planned to answer. In addition, a university attachment may serve the school psychologist well in terms of obtaining financial

support for the research he would conduct. Most government agencies do not grant funds to school systems for research purposes. Foundations vary; it is a safe generalization, however, that a university attachment will more easily pave the way for support. And this is probably as it should be. Expert consultation available from the university on problems of research design and the many dilemmas that arise in conducting a study is a safeguard against inadequate and inconclusive findings. The stimulation that occurs from locking intellectual horns with well-informed persons who see things from a different point of view may make the difference between pedestrian and original, inventive research.

Professional and Scholarly Organizations

Scientific societies in psychology in this country have a history of nearly three quarters of a century. Over the years, as psychology has become a professional as well as a scientific field, new functions have been added to the original purposes of its organizations. Thus, today many psychological societies serve a number of guild functions—activities connected with furthering the profession, such as training, regulation of practice, and accreditation standards. One may have mixed feelings about these guild functions. A profession must constantly guard against becoming so engrossed in its own interests that it fails to serve the welfare of society. The combination of emphases on scientific and professional concerns of psychologists, however, suggests the importance of active membership in such groups. Both his scholarly and his professional interests demand it of the psychologist.

It is fatuous to specify the societies and organizations of which a school psychologist should be a member. It may be worth mentioning, however, that besides the national, regional, state, and local psychological associations, one might look to a limited number of other national organizations. Some of these may add new dimensions to his thinking. Thus, the International Council of Exceptional Children and the American Association for Mental Deficiency bring together specialists associated with two important aspects of the school psychologist's concerns. The American

Orthopsychiatric Association puts a person in contact with persons of several disciplines that share a common focus on personality disorders and development in children. The Society for Research in Child Development brings him in contact not only with psychologists specializing in child development, but with pediatricians, physiologists, nutritionists, and the like. The National Education Association with its divisions concerns itself with many situations significant to the psychologist in the schools. Examples could be multiplied. No psychologist except the most avid joiner would wish to belong to all such organizations, even where he is eligible. On the other hand, one or two outside the essentially psychological associations will give him a chance to see his own concerns from the point of view of specialists in related but not completely overlapping fields.

Local organizations in psychology as in other fields vary all the way from excellent to those that deserve a quick and merciful death. Almost everyone these days is overcommitted. There are too many organizations, so that local organizations sometimes languish through lack of time and of interest. This perhaps suggests that the local organizations most valuable for the school psychologist are those basically organized around scholarly themes. In other words, local organizations that give him an opportunity to come in contact with persons who stimulate his thinking, and vice-versa, will add to, rather than take from, his busy days.

The question of professional organizations is, of course, not so simple as merely the question of should one join or not. A more important question is that of the measure of active participation. If one is genuinely interested in an upgrading of the total profession, he needs to keep in mind the powerful roles that such organizations play. Their strength lies in their communication within their membership and with related professions and specialties. Such groups tend either consciously or adventitiously to create the image of their profession.

The Pervasive Problem of Keeping Up

With the burgeoning growth of psychological knowledge, keeping up with even his own small plot of the total field is every psy-

chologist's problem. With the elaboration of research methodology, the sheer weight of publication, and the ever more specialized language, no one today can hope to be a Francis Bacon, even of psychology. No one can take all psychological knowledge for his province. Yet one must find some way of having a measure of acquaintance with the growing edge of one's field.

This is an especial problem for the school psychologist. All too often he is at a distance from the usual sources of new psychological knowledge and skill—the universities and the laboratories. He is not in daily contact with psychologists of various persuasions. Such daily rubbing of shoulders—and minds—with persons working on the frontiers of their specialties is probably the best way of keeping up with the current and choice in psychology at large. In addition, the school psychologist usually does not have as easy an access as his university colleagues to published materials or even to the avenues of finding such materials.

RESEARCH REVIEWS AND SUMMARIES. In their student days, psychologists become familiar with such sources as the *Annual Review of Psychology*, the *Review of Educational Research*, the *Psychological Abstracts*, and the *Child Development Abstracts*. All these provide shortcuts to finding recently published material in the school psychologist's field. Their continued use beyond graduate school can help one remain a student in one's chosen area. Such publications might well be at the top of the priority list for one's own professional library and for the professional library that a department of psychological services maintains.

The field of psychology has by no means solved the problem of disseminating knowledge and of communicating adequately among its subspecialties. Yet such publications as those mentioned can make possible general acquaintance with significant developments in the broad field. From them one can go on to the detailed study of theoretical articles and research reports related to one's own special interests. A large portion of professional development in any field based upon scientific advance is that of remaining continually a scholar. Such condensations and summaries do serve, however, as road maps of areas, to point directions and show related pathways.

WORKSHOPS, INSTITUTES, AND CONFERENCES. Devices such as the institute held by the Division of School Psychologists of the American Psychological Association just prior to each annual meeting of the society serve to compensate for some of the insularity of many workers in the field. Upon occasion, regional, state, and local groups have tried similar approaches. Some universities are also beginning to provide such opportunities for practicing school psychologists. A much wider use should be made of institutes and conferences, carefully planned and with participants well prepared. Such meetings would serve to offset some of the limitations the school psychologist feels in freedom of access to the ideas of others and to significant developments of the field.

Some Illustrations of Specific Ways to Keep Abreast One's Field

So far the discussion has centered around general considerations of professional development. We shall turn now to some specific suggestions for furthering such growth. Each of these is an approach that has been used in certain situations with a measure of success. The psychologist may select among them for those most appropriate to the opportunities and constraints of his own circumstances.

1. *Specific time earmarked for professional development.* This means time for library reading, visiting psychological installations, consulting with other psychologists, other ways of enhancing one's professional and scientific competence. The main issue here is the staking out of some regular time that is held as inviolable against all immediate service demands. In one setting which the writer knows, the psychologists use one day every other week for such activities. Though the heavens seem in danger of falling, these days are kept free of any appointments or other demands that would tie the person to the office. It takes considerable self-discipline not to let time-consuming details creep into such periods, but it is a way of providing an occasion for professional enhancement that is open to any psychologist, if he will plan his schedule in terms of it.

2. *Regular meetings of a psychological staff for professional*

development—not for a consideration of the business of the department. This is used in many places with varying success. One helpful approach is to bring in consultants who can add new dimensions to the thinking of the staff. Often the most effective consultants will be those who can bring the staff close to new developments in psychology, persons who in terms of their own research, or that of others with which they are immediately acquainted, can open up new possibilities for the staff. Such persons can also often serve to help direct the study of the group toward sources of information of which they may not be aware. An important element in such planning would be the regularity and frequency of such meetings. The writer is acquainted with a service that sets aside every Friday morning for such activities. Sometimes special consultants are invited; sometimes the staff members carry the responsibility of developing the morning's program. This may seem an extravagant allotment of time to some, in the long run it will probably pay rich dividends.

3. *A journal group.* A not uncommon technique is to organize a group of psychologists who meet regularly to review current publications in the field. Such an approach will only be so good as the efforts the group make to review the literature adequately and consistently. The group can jointly agree among themselves as to which journals each will subscribe to, which ones each will review. Obviously the journals can become readily available to each member of the group.

4. *A local book club.* This is simply the technique, used in many situations, of banding together to order a certain number of books that the group wishes to study, and working out a system of exchange and review. Where good library resources are available, this may have little to recommend it. Where this is not the case, it will be a way of learning at least something of what is currently being published.

5. *Local institutes, workshops, and conferences.* A two- or three-day institute, planned in some setting apart from the schools in which one works, and with leaders prepared to give the group as an intensive a look as possible at some field of concern, can help pull the psychologist's car out of the rut in which it sometimes travels. For example, a social anthropologist might be able

to give the group a much broader look than it possessed of the influence of family variables upon the child's behavior, in school as well as out. A psychologist specializing in cognitive development might give a fresh approach to questions of learning experiences for children. This may be a particularly helpful approach for psychologists who are so far apart geographically that they cannot meet weekly or bi-weekly.

6. *Informal newsletters or exchanges or round robins.* Unfortunately in many situations school psychologists are too few in number to make journal groups and other kinds of frequent meetings feasible. In such cases it might be possible on a state or sectional basis to establish some type of continuing exchange of information and ideas. Like most of the other suggestions in this section, success will depend upon the determination of the persons involved to make it a going concern. Such frequent interchanges, together with occasional meetings, can help offset some of the feeling of isolation and the consequent parochial point of view to which the psychologist working alone may easily succumb.

7. *Summer plans.* The most obvious, and often the most readily available, way for the school psychologist to further his professional development is to make wise use of the two months or so in summer that he is likely to free from professional assignment in his school. The important thing here is probably for the psychologist to plan his summer experiences with a long perspective. That is, he might develop for himself a plan for five or ten years which would give him the scope of experiences and contacts that over a period of time would be valuable for him. The sequence of such experiences may not matter, and the order may be altered to fit the changing circumstances.

All these suggestions center around attempts to enhance the psychologist's knowledge. In his working assignments the psychologist is primarily concerned with output; much of his time is taken up with attempts to transfer his knowledge and skills to others. This is as it should be—but only up to a point. Some adequate balance must be maintained between this giving out of knowledge and the input of new information. The psychologist who is to grow professionally must stake out for himself some considerable measure of time in which he attempts to build up

his fund of knowledge and understanding. He cannot go on year after year without fresh ideas and information. How each psychologist will do this is a problem only he can solve, but on its solution rests his opportunity to keep up with the rapidly expanding discipline of which he is a part, and to contribute to its growth.

A PAYMENT OF ONE'S DEBT

George Peabody, the educational philanthropist who antedated the Rockefellers and the Carnegies by half a century, described education as "a debt owed by present to future generations." A large measure of any highly educated person's personal and professional development will be a payment on that debt he owes to those who came before him.

Research is probably the major way in which one contributes to the on-going development of psychology, both in immediate and more basic areas. It is easy in speech and writing to establish what is probably a false dichotomy between research and service. Research is service—if we move beyond the immediate situation. Wherever human need is impelling and the means to satisfy that need are inadequate, we face a hard paradox: The greater the need for direct service even greater the need for research.

Thus, the psychologist has a responsibility for adding to the knowledge of his field. Most psychologists may not think of the research they do as payment on a debt, and yet in a real sense it is. The psychologist who blithely picks up his Binet kit seldom thinks of the time and effort of many decades that have gone into developing this instrument to its present level of usefulness. He takes his latest copy of the *Psychological Abstracts* and does not pause to think of the expense, time, and skill that went into the abstracting, the editing, and the publishing. He gives little thought to the time and money—even the tears and sweat—that each brief entry of research serves witness to.

Even more immediately, the school psychologist has a debt to those who trained him. Leonardo da Vinci once wrote in his notebook: "Poor is the pupil who does not surpass his master." Poor indeed is the psychologist who cannot contribute something over

and beyond what he has learned from those who taught him. This may be in the way of research. It can, of course, be in the way of interpretation to fellow professionals and to the public. School psychology is a rapidly expanding and changing field. It needs continual interpretation to the public and to psychologists in other areas. If it is to develop an effective role in the future, it will be through a constant interplay with fellow scientists and professionals, and with the consumers of its product, the schools and their patrons.

Some additional words are needed on the problems a school psychologist faces as a practitioner of psychology. In a sense he is more a specialist in terms of the setting in which he works than he is a specialist in particular areas of psychology. Anyone who has followed the arguments in this book recognizes that its viewpoint has been one of seeing the psychologist in the schools not as a specialist in a narrow field. He is seen instead as a modified generalist who can bring many aspects of psychology to bear upon the functioning of the schools. Since Elizabethan days probably no one has been able to fill successfully the role of universal man. Certainly no one today can fill the role of universal psychologist—even within the schools. One can, however, take an intermediate position—mug-wump, if you will—and take as one's fields of broad concern such areas as those suggested in this book, mental health and school learning. One can, then, in a very general, albeit sometimes superficial, way, keep up with the significant new developments in these broad areas as they impinge upon the schools. One can then probe more deeply into some selected few of these new developments that show promise for improving the school experiences of children. Psychologists in the schools may have to give up what often seems to be the ambition of the psychologist in the university and laboratory, that of being the recognized expert on some one carefully pinpointed aspect of psychology. Such experts are essential for the development of the field. But equally essential, if the field is to have value to society, are those who can translate, modify, and adapt new knowledge to society's needs.

For psychologists in general—insofar as research reports, reviews, and textbooks go—the situation seems to be like that in

Ecclesiastes: Of writing books there is no end. Yet when it comes to interpreting psychological material to other disciplines and to the lay public, psychologists are laggard indeed. And perhaps this is one area in which the school psychologist might serve with particular effectiveness.

Upon occasion school psychologists do prove that they can write for nonprofessionals and write well. If one would spread his influence and the knowledge of his field more widely, he might well look to the importance of writing as one avenue to that goal. His writings will not necessarily be like Horace's poems, a monument more lasting than bronze. But what is written does endure, for a time at least; it reaches far more people than the spoken word. As an illustration of the possibilities in such writing, take local and state educational journals. Most such publications are crying for copy. Articles interpreting the role of the school psychologist to teachers, articles reviewing research on child development and learning, and relating these to the teacher's classroom role, would be welcome and useful. What it takes is mostly energy and application.

Psychologists have been slow indeed to publish material in magazines for the lay public. This seems one of the surest ways of losing caste, or so psychologists have believed. Actually, what seems to happen all too often is that articles on psychological subjects are published anyway. But they are often not written by persons in the best position to speak with knowledge and authority. Writing for an intelligent lay public can challenge the skills of the most highly trained writers in a scientific field. It may also serve the function of disseminating knowledge which would make a real difference in human lives. Fillmore Sanford (1951), in the already cited "The Good Profession," suggests that one criterion of excellence in a profession is the extent to which it disseminates its knowledge to all those who can learn to use it appropriately and effectively for human betterment. True, much of the knowledge in the field of psychology is tenuous and limited in application. But it is also true that there is much already known with direct application for human betterment and well within the grasp of intelligent laymen. The school psychologist, then, might well pay his debt to those who went before him by making

the knowledge they laboriously acquired more widely useful at the present time.

A BALANCED COMMITMENT

This chapter began with a look at the hazards in the way of professional development for school psychologists. We must close with a plea for a balanced commitment, both professional and personal. Such a balance of activities and concerns can offset the particular hazards of one's job. It may also serve to prevent one from becoming lost in the morass of day-by-day activities that, although immediately rewarding, may have little impact upon one's long-term professional development or one's contribution to society. It may serve to take some of the sting out of the failures everyone must sometimes experience in his chosen line of endeavor.

A popular myth, hard to kill, is the view of the well-rounded individual as an ideal type. In the complex evolving society of our times, the only way to a productive life must be through selection. Only the mediocre can afford to be well rounded. All others must select sharply lest their time, energy, and emotional investment be frittered away in demands that pull them in a dozen different ways at once. The particular balanced professional commitment for each school psychologist must be different. His own capacities and situation so dictate. But in any such program one would hope to find some careful ordering of priorities in terms of what is most important in the long run, some way to offset the particular bias of one's profession, some plan for remaining a scholar in one's field, and partial payment on that debt owed to the teachers and scholars of one's field.

A balanced commitment in one's personal life is obviously important to each of us, whether psychologist, housewife, farmer, or physician. Such balance is particularly important, however, to the psychologist, and especially the one in the schools. His decisions and daily activities affect the lives of many persons. Psychologists in general are modest and even fearful in their appraisal of the social consequences of the skills and knowledge they develop. Yet sober reflection would indicate to us that the tools

of psychologists are powerful indeed. Psychologists know much about the shaping of human personalities; they are aware of the consequences, bad and good, of different ways of interacting with children and adults. The psychologist cannot afford to use these powers and these tools in a vacuum of ignorance, a lack of knowledge of what the world is like, what social changes are taking place for good or ill. He must know what the keenest critics of the human scene have viewed as important issues of the present and the future. Again, the psychologist cannot expect to become a universal man. Yet he must concern himself with humanity in its many aspects. A responsible psychologist cannot live in a crenelated tower, or indeed within red brick walls, without a window on the world, the universe of human values and experiences. He must know mankind as revealed in the literature of the past and present, in music and the arts, in other records of man's fears and aspirations.

The narrow specialist may be more immediately productive of human knowledge. He is like the burning glass, the lens that focuses all light to a point and thus ignites a piece of fuel. Such critics of the modern scene as Lewis Mumford, however, believe that so narrow an approach may be less fruitful even for scientific knowledge in the long run; that persons with balance, with a broader view of life, will over the years be far more productive. At the very least, many fields, including psychology, stand in need of integrators who can organize and bring into coherent wholes the scattered findings of their disciplines. E. G. Boring (1929) suggested many years ago in *The History of Experimental Psychology* that what psychology in America had lacked was a great man. An integrator might be one such mountain peak among the lesser men of psychology.

While we are waiting for a great man, however, the chances are that those psychologists working primarily in research will continue to focus their energies somewhat narrowly. We cannot, however, justify such an approach to practice. This procedure may pay off in research; yet it is folly to argue that it also yields dividends in making decisions about human beings and human welfare. Here the psychologist must apply his knowledge in the broadest possible context of what is and will be significant for

growing human beings in years to come. Psychologists in the schools must face up to the responsibility placed in their hands by the powerful tools of their discipline.

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THE ETHICAL POSITION OF THE SCHOOL PSYCHOLOGIST

An old saying has it that laws are made for fools and knaves. Or in other words, laws are needed for those who fail to understand the long-term consequences of their acts and for those who are unconcerned about harmful effects upon others of their own actions. Similarly, the ethical codes of the professions have their origin at least partially in attempts to provide guidance for the relatively ignorant and control for the irresponsible or unscrupulous. But ethical codes go beyond such policing of the profession to the provision of positive guides for professional conduct in the promotion of human welfare.

Sometimes it seems every identifiable occupational group from popcorn vendors to plumbers, from dry cleaners to swimming pool manufacturers, has an ethical code, so-called. We may be glad that our bag of popcorn was produced by an individual adhering to a code of ethics and that our clothing was cleaned by someone with similarly high moral standards. But the old prin-

ciple of *Caveat emptor* is expected to apply in these cases. Within limits the layman is expected to be able to judge whether the popcorn is edible—and tasty, whether the clothing is clean and well pressed.

The professions present a different problem. Hughes (1952), in a provocative article on psychology as a science and profession, suggests that the single most important criterion of a profession, and consequently of the need for a functioning code of ethics, is that it offers an esoteric service to the public. *Caveat emptor* does not apply in such cases, because the public does not have sufficient knowledge to evaluate the adequacy of service nor to judge the competency of the person offering that service. In such cases, the public must be protected. Often this is done in part by legal provisions, and thus states license physicians, for example.

Control by the profession itself is another and a more widespread way of attempting to regulate and improve practice. Ralph Tyler (1952), for example, considers that the first of two essential characteristics of a profession is that it has a recognized code of ethics. This code must commit the members of the profession to social values above "the selfish ones of income, power, and prestige."

THE ETHICAL CODE OF THE AMERICAN PSYCHOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION

In their search for codes of conduct the professions have tended to lean heavily upon classical ethics. Carr-Saunders and Wilson (1933) believe that present-day codes of ethics represent adaptations of standards of conduct for the priest and for the gentleman, as these might apply to the professions of the present time. It is from the idealized figure of the priest and gentleman, as McGlothlin (1960, p. 212) suggests, that professions derive their values of dedication and self-control, of service and magnanimity. Some indication of these two sources is the frequent use of the ecclesiastical term of canons for a code of ethics, and the *noblesse oblige* of the gentleman and courtier that inheres

in concern for the unfortunate, the placing of service above monetary reward.

As such codes have developed they have tended, according to McGlothlin (1960, p. 212), to become more tied to the issues of everyday practice of a profession in terms of three concerns: protection of the public, protection of the profession, and protection of the practitioner. The second and third of these tend to be "guild" functions. Upon occasion guild activities can run counter to the interests and the welfare of the public, presumably the major concern of the profession.

It is instructive in this connection to look at one of the fore-runners of our modern codes of professional ethics, the so-called Pagan Oath of Hippocrates (Fitts & Fitts, 1955), an oath still taken in modified form by graduates of medical schools. Most nonmedical people, if they know the oath at all, usually cannot get beyond "I swear by Apollo Physician and by Aesclepius . . ." But the Hippocratic Oath in its early form goes on to specify items that are clearly related to guild functions, to illegal practice, and to the rights of other professions. The physician is to teach medicine to the sons of his own teacher without fee or indenture; he is not to teach anyone who has not sworn obedience to the physicians' law. He must not use poison or offer it for use, he must not perform an abortion. He must not "lav the knife . . . on sufferers from stone, but . . . give place to such as are craftsmen therein." This classic oath appears not only to express the highest aspirations of the profession ("In purity and holiness I will guard my life and art"). It also shows the results of considerable worldly experience in practicing a profession and a concern with quasi-guild functions in medical circles of two millennia ago.

Ethical codes today seem to run the gamut from codes of etiquette, a criticism leveled at much of the current code of medical ethics (Fitts & Fitts, 1955), to those that are vague statements of lofty aspirations. Neither sort of code would seem adequate as a guide for practice in a newly developing profession.

The American Psychological Association, when it first began to face the need for a code of ethics to guide practice, attempted

a new solution to the problem of how to derive a code of ethics. Instead of starting with the classic ideals of the priest and gentleman, or with professional etiquette, the committee that guided the development of the code began with the day-by-day decisions as to conduct that face the practitioner of psychology. This committee, under the chairmanship of Hobbs, employed the critical incident technique, developed by Flanagan (1954) in World War II, to derive general principles of ethical behavior. Obviously the critical incidents that generated the APA Code of Ethics did so only within a context of regard for ultimate human welfare, the concern of classical ethics. Such an empirical approach, however, made an enormous difference in the applicability and immediacy of the code to the everyday decisions of the psychologist. This code as first published *in toto* (APA, 1953) represents the basic ethical position of the American Psychological Association. This code, complete with a number of critical incidents typifying the application of the code in various activities of psychologists, runs to a book of some 170 pages. A particularly important feature of the code's derivation has been the participation of so many members of the American Psychological Association in its formation. All members were invited to submit incidents of situations involving ethical decisions, and many did so. In addition, a large number of psychologists served on the subcommittees that worked up various sections of the code. This means not only that the code represents the thinking of many members of the profession; it means also the active engagement of all those members, and probably of additional ones, in the problem of appropriate ethical standards for psychologists.

Some people, however, found the 1953 code unwieldy. A few criticisms were leveled at its lack of realism, others at its concern with etiquette. In any case, such a code was to be seen as provisional and subject to reexamination. Six years later, an amended and greatly shortened version (APA, 1959) was published for a three-year trial period. The most marked change is in the elimination of all critical incidents. This certainly makes for more rapid reading. For the psychologist, however, who is unfamiliar with the earlier code, the new code in its brevity and generality may not prove so effective a guide as he may wish for. One way

of solving the problem may be to return, after the trial period for the abbreviated code, to a form like the earlier one, with new incidents that represent the experience of the years since the first set was collected. Another solution may be in the more active concern of graduate departments of psychology in providing training in ethics. DePalma and Drake (1956) found that, at the time they wrote, few departments offered specific training courses in professional ethics or had organized ways of familiarizing the students with the APA code. The general approach appeared to be one of hoping for a sort of osmosis, with ethical attitudes being generally acquired through practicum courses, and through contacts with professors and with practicing psychologists.

An assumption that ethical standards will be acquired by osmosis is particularly dangerous in the field of psychology, which probably ranks among those professions in which ethical standards are most crucial in terms of the vulnerability of the public. The legal regulation of psychological practice is extremely variable from state to state, with many states maintaining no legal control. In clinical psychology, by far the largest area of psychological practice with the public, the nature of the problems that cause persons to seek help may make them particularly unable to judge the adequacy of offered—and received—services. Generally accepted ethical standards, recognized and adhered to on all levels of training and practice, are needed if the welfare of society is to be served. This need was recognized clearly by the Committee on Legislation of the American Psychological Association and the Council of State Psychological Associations in a joint report published in 1955. This report stressed the importance of nonlegal social influences in raising professional standards. These they saw as more effective and more flexible than any legal requirements in reaching the ultimate goals of the profession. Five years later the Committee on Scientific and Professional Responsibility of the APA published a report: *Social Influences on the Standards of Psychologists* (APA, 1961). In this report the committee, chaired by James G. Miller, examined in some detail the meaning of responsible behavior in psychology, the impact of various kinds of social con-

trols upon psychologists, and finally the exploration of various ways in which individuals and organizations in psychology might employ social influences to promote excellence, both scientific and professional, in psychology. This report contains much valuable material for any who are concerned—as all members of the profession should be—with the ethical position of the profession of psychology. As this report points out, the ultimate control over the conduct of the practitioner is the internalization of a concept of the model role of his profession.

An ethical code cannot alone take care of upgrading the practice of a profession, or of policing its membership's violations of that code. It does, however, provide a framework for the development and continuation of professionally responsible behavior. School psychologists, as other members of their science-profession, have upon them the responsibility to familiarize themselves with the code and its applications in their particular area, and to adhere to this code. The present chapter makes the assumption that school psychologists and those in training have already familiarized themselves with the code or will do so. With this as a background, the next section of the present chapter will address itself to some of those issues that are of particular concern to the school psychologist.

SOME ETHICAL ISSUES FOR THE SCHOOL PSYCHOLOGIST

The psychologist who works in the schools faces some special ethical problems because of the setting in which he works and because of the nature of the population with which he is concerned. Several such problems will be discussed in turn.

The Divided Loyalties Issue

All practicing psychologists to some extent face the problem of divided loyalties. The most important aspect of this may be the issue of the welfare of the client versus the welfare of society or some portion of it. In one sense, the psychologist's responsibility is unequivocally to society. In most cases, the welfare of society is seen as best served by the psychologist who protects

the welfare of his client (the person or group with whom he is working) at most, if not all, costs. The 1958 APA Code of Ethics (APA, 1959) draws the line of confidentiality of information received from the client as follows:

Information received in confidence is revealed only after most careful deliberation and when there is clear and imminent danger to an individual or to society, and then only to appropriate professional workers or public authorities.

This seems definite enough, but Wiskoff (1960), in a study of divided loyalties, found considerable difference in interpretation. Wiskoff presented to a sample of psychologists a series of ethical situations involving divided loyalties. Three of these involved what one would assume would be interpreted as "clear and imminent danger"—murder, suicide, and treason. Significant differences were found among subgroups, but of more importance is his finding that the distributions of replies—as to whether the client's confidence was to be maintained—followed a normal curve. Wiskoff suggests that this wide variation in interpretation indicates the need for each psychological subspecialty to instruct its students in issues involving divided loyalties.

The psychologist in the schools will almost daily have to face the question of divided loyalties or at least of certain conflicts in interests. One reason for this is that he works within a setting where there is another code of ethics seen by the persons in that setting as having application to all individuals who work in the schools. This is the Code of Ethics of the National Education Association (Perry, 1955), revised in 1952. The APA Code and the NEA Code do not conflict, actually there is much that is common to both codes. And as Cutts (1955, p. 87) points out, there is much in one that supplements the other for the psychologist who works in the schools. The NEA Code is divided into five principles, dealing with children, parents, school, employer-employee relationships, and the community. To the writer it seems that the NEA Code is the more "management" oriented of the two, with more stress upon going through channels, adhering to conditions of a contract, maintaining desirable relationships with the school's patrons, and things of this sort. Since such

matters in general are not covered by the APA Code of Ethics, the question is not likely to be one of actual conflict, but a more general question of loyalty.

To the extent that possible conflicts arise in interpretation of the two codes, they are likely to center around the thorny problem of confidentiality. Wiskoff's findings would suggest that many psychologists believe in maintaining confidentiality of the client even in cases of "clear and imminent danger" as these would be interpreted by many individuals. The NEA Code states that the teacher should "respect the right of every student to have confidential information about himself withheld except when its release is to authorized agencies or is required by the law." In addition, he is to "speak constructively of other teachers but report honestly to responsible persons in matters involving the welfare of students, the school system, and the profession." Just what are authorized agencies and responsible persons is not clear. Suppose the psychologist in consultation with the teacher learns in confidence certain things which suggest to him that the teacher is so seriously disturbed that she is likely to have a deleterious effect upon children. The NEA Code might be interpreted as suggesting that he report this to her employer; the APA Code clearly indicates otherwise.

Aside from possible different interpretations of the two codes, the psychologist may expect the question of confidentiality to be a particularly difficult ethical point in his work in the schools. In one sense the client with whom he works is the child, or the teacher; in another sense it is the school or the school system. Much that he learns from the child might be helpful to the teacher in day-by-day contact with him; much that he learns from the teacher might be helpful to the principal or the supervisor who tries to help the teacher be more effective. The teacher or the school executive who has not thought through the issue is likely to see it as one in which the psychologist should do the thing which will get the information to the concerned persons. The third grade teacher would like to know what went on when the psychologist saw Tommy, the little boy in her room who seems to be so frightened of her. After all, she is his teacher; she works with him every day. She stands *in loco parentis* while

he is in school; he is only a little child anyway; knowing what causes the trouble would certainly help her mend the situation. Surely all this talking about confidentiality is just so much nonsense, and the psychologist's way of being important and setting himself off from the teachers. To the psychologist the situation is clear. Even if the information might be helpful to the teacher, if it was obtained in confidence, he cannot give it to her without the child's express permission.

Or take another situation. A fourteen-year-old is referred to the psychologist by his principal. He has been caught slashing tires and is suspected of other vandalism. The principal wants the psychologist to find out what ails the boy. He thinks the psychologist should be able to establish a friendly relationship and worm the information out of the boy. The principal is the person responsible for the boy's behavior while he is on the school grounds; he has a right to know what is going on. Again, to the psychologist the situation is clear. He cannot ethically obtain such information in confidence and give it to the principal.

Both these hypothetical situations suggest how the psychologist may handle such problems of confidentiality. This is the importance of establishing prior conditions in any situation involving confidentiality. He will be wise to take considerable time, if necessary, to explain to teachers and other school personnel why he must maintain conditions of confidentiality if he is to be helpful. If he can bring them to see that his best chance of helping a child, or parent, or teacher lies in providing a situation that is completely safe for the individual, he will find that the concept of confidentiality will be accepted. If he should ever be forced into a situation such as that of the tire-slashing boy, he must make it clear to the boy before beginning an interview that what he tells the psychologist cannot be held in confidence. If the situation ever arises where he feels it wise that another individual should have information he has obtained in confidence, he must—short of “clear and imminent danger”—obtain the individual's permission.

An overriding consideration in all such matters, where conflicts in point of view concerning ethical issues arise, is that of a careful sorting out of values before one establishes a given course

of action. If loyalties are divided, then one must decide as best one can, before need for action arises, just where the dividing lines are drawn. This is easy in some situations, in others hard. The school psychologist is first of all a psychologist, or so his fellow psychologists would urge him to be. But he is also a member of a school staff and the other members will not allow him to forget this. Again, one must ask the question, which is at the basis of all ethical codes, of what is the best way in the long run of serving the welfare of society in one's role as a psychologist who works in the particular setting of the schools.

Working with a Child Population

Much of the school psychologist's work will be with children, often with relatively young ones. These children will ordinarily be referred to him because of a teacher's concern that all is not going well with the child. In addition, the subjects in his research will usually be children. The APA Code can be stretched or interpreted to cover the ethical issues arising in such situations, but the 1959 code provides little in the way of a concrete guide. The word *children* occurs only once in the entire code. Under the Principle of Confidentiality, Item *b* reads as follows: "Information obtained in clinical or consulting relationships, or evaluative data concerning children, students, employees, and others are discussed only for professional purposes and only with persons clearly concerned with the case" (APA, 1959). Interestingly enough, under the Principle on Harmful Aftereffects, Item *c* states "A psychologist using animals in research adheres to the provisions of the Rules Regarding Animals, drawn up by the Committee on Precautions in Animal Experimentation and adopted by the American Psychological Association" (APA, 1959). Nothing, however, is said about precautions in experimentation with children other than as they are included under the general rubric.

The Division of School Psychologists of APA maintains an ethics committee that is concerned with the particular ethical issues the school psychologist faces in his work. It would seem a highly appropriate activity for this committee to attempt to clarify such issues and to provide some guide for those working

in the schools. The Division of Developmental Psychology of the Association has also been concerned with the ethical issues involved in working with children, particularly as children are used as research subjects.

Even with such clarification, issues will still pose difficulties. Confidentiality becomes a difficult problem, for example, when working with children. One reason is the difficulty of explaining to a child the very meaning of the term, so that he can understand what may and may not be regarded as confidential information. An issue that has arisen often in the writer's own experience is that of play therapy interviews conducted for training purposes, where observers watched the sessions through a one-way screen. Ethics seemed to dictate that the child must be informed of the observers, and this was customarily done in the first session with a child. He was told about it; allowed to see the observation booth, and to listen through the earphones if he wished. It hardly seemed desirable to start every session with a reminder that there were some people watching him. Many children become sufficiently fascinated by the mechanics of the situation that therapy seems to suffer, to say nothing of the inhibiting effects of knowing that one is watched. Even if one told a child, however, that there might be observers there at any session, it is unlikely that he always remembered it. True, the confidentiality of the situation was maintained in one sense in that the observers were there for professional purposes and kept what they learned in confidence. The parents' permission was also obtained. This solution seemed the best available one. It arose, however, out of considerable thought and the experience of a number of persons in such situations. Thus, it suggests the importance of more attention on the part of responsible concerned groups to the particular ethical issues involved in working with children.

In a letter to the Chairman of the Ethics Committee of APA (Division of Developmental Psychology, 1962), the Ethics Committee of the Division of Developmental Psychology recommended certain additional statements to the code to safeguard children as experimental subjects, to take cognizance of the parents' rights and concerns, and the like. For example, it suggests

an addition under the Principle of Competence with reference to "high standards of scholarship." This committee would add a statement as follows: "The psychologist who is responsible for the training and supervision of students and trainees should be aware of his responsibilities to inculcate in those students an awareness and sensitivity to the ethical considerations involved in psychological research and services." An expansion is suggested for Principle 2, Competence: "He obtains additional supervised or special training dealing with the unique qualities of the subject (human or animal) of his research or of the clients receiving service from him when his previous training did not include such education." The division's concern at this point was with the many persons who may embark on a research project involving children without training in terms of appropriate ways of working with children, or who go into clinical practice with children, although their background has been in adult clinical psychology.

Under the Principle on Harmful Aftereffects, the committee recommends an addition that should be of particular importance to anyone embarking upon research in the schools:

When asking for the cooperation of an organization or educational institution, the psychologist recognizes his responsibility to the persons in charge of these groups as well as the actual subjects of his research. He will attempt to obviate any misunderstandings by clearly explaining the purposes of his research and will take adequate safeguards to relieve any conditions of tension or stress which his work may produce between or among the subjects or persons responsible for the subjects, such as parents, and the administrators of the institution.

Clear guides are certainly needed in the many recurring problems that working with children in school settings present. Work of the sort that Division of Developmental Psychology committee has done can do much to clarify the situation.

The Rights and Responsibilities of Parents

Another thorny problem the school psychologist faces with his child clients is that of the parents' legal rights and responsibilities, and their highly appropriate concerns with their child's

welfare. If anyone has a right and need to understand what goes on with a child it is certainly the child's parents. From the standpoint of the ethical considerations involved, the question may be often one of interpretation to the parent of the need for confidentiality of sessions with a child. As with many other ethical situations, the need is usually for prior interpretation to the parent. Such problems are much more likely to arise in case of individual therapy with children than they are in the more usual contacts of the school psychologist with children. Still, the problem is difficult enough that every one who works with children in activities with any psychotherapeutic overtones should be aware of it.

The legal aspects of the confidentiality of the contacts of the school psychologist with children is a more complex one. New York State, for example, in the early 1960's went through a number of legal battles and ethical reappraisals on the problem of the confidentiality of school records. A decision was rendered by the Commissioner of Education of that state in 1960 (Woodring, 1961) to the effect that parents had a legal right to inspect their child's school records. Early in the next year Justice William R. Brennan gave a decision in the case of *Van Allen v. McCleary* upholding Van Allen's right to inspect his child's school record.

If by school records are meant all written material concerning a given child, serious problems of confidentiality arise. Test scores, for example, are seriously open to misinterpretation by parents. Anyone who has attempted to help teachers without a background in measurement understand test validity and reliability knows how difficult it is. How much more so it will be with parents who by and large have less background than the teacher and in addition are likely to lack the objectivity with their own child. Psychologists, guidance counselors, and school social workers in working with children have usually attempted to maintain confidentiality for such findings as were obtained in confidence. Confidential reports are received by schools from nonschool co-operating agencies, such as the juvenile court or a family and children's service. Much of what the psychologist might wish to maintain in his own files may be tentative, suggestions for further exploration, hypotheses to test, and the like. Such a

sweeping interpretation of school records would make a major difference in methods of functioning and in all likelihood of effectiveness in many of the special services within the schools.

If school records are interpreted in a more limited fashion, however, it is possible to observe the moral and legal right of the parent to know about his child and at the same time to make possible the effective functioning of services that must depend upon some degree of confidentiality and some safeguarding of their tentative exploration of problems and hypothesis-building therefrom.

The New York Commissioner of Education, shortly after rendering his decision, appointed a committee of psychologists, school executives, and the like, with the charge of advising the Education Department on administrative and technical problems that school systems would face in implementing the commissioner's decision. This committee submitted a report to the commissioner in August, 1961. Much of the report was addressed to the question of what might properly be considered as a school record. The summary of this section of the report states:

1. The school record includes all the written information about a pupil that is available to all staff members who work with him. Inasmuch as the pupil's record is permanent in nature and available to all members of the school staff, the information it contains should also be available to the pupil's parents. While in most cases an interpretation of the record by appropriate school personnel will be the desirable procedure, the parent has the right to inspect the record if he so desires. In that event, an opportunity should be provided for the parent to see the record in the presence of an appropriate staff member under reasonable conditions which the local school authorities should establish.
2. Information about a child that is confidential, temporary, or technical in nature, and not generally available to all staff members, is not to be considered a part of the school record. Such information should not, therefore, be made directly available to parents, but should be used as the basis for interpretive consultation with parents by appropriately qualified staff members (Advisory Committee on Pupil Records, 1961).

The committee went on to recommend that distinctions should be drawn more clearly with respect to (a) school records, (b) back-

ground data used by school personnel to prepare records, and (c) communications from nonschool cooperating agencies.

Such an approach has much promise in terms of providing the safeguards that are important in terms of the parent's rights, his need for informed interpretation of his child's records, and also the need for certain school staff members—particularly those in pupil personnel services—to work within the limits of some degree of confidentiality. The time and effort, however, that were expended in reaching such a tentative recommendation serve witness to the difficulties that surround certain aspects of the school psychologist's work. They also point toward the critical nature of his ethical position as he works with children within the legal and moral rights and expectations of school personnel and of patrons.

The Source of the School Psychologist's Referrals

Typically, school children are referred through their teachers, either directly or through the principal, the visiting teacher, or someone else designated as the person to make the referral officially. The question immediately rises of the legal and ethical issues in such referrals in relation to the parents. Some school systems make it mandatory that the school psychologist consult with the parents and obtain their permission before undertaking any diagnostic or remedial work. In situations where such consultation is not mandatory, it is usually desirable, particularly where any extended contacts with the child seem likely. With children below the age of adolescence this is of particular importance. Parents are understandably apprehensive about individual tests and interviews with their children; they are fearful of the possible effects upon their child. Some of this may stem from the residuals of the parents' own childhood contacts with the schools, the usual fear of the unknown, and perhaps also from the popular image of the psychologist as seen in the public press. One highly educated parent whom the writer knows said in all seriousness, "I don't want the psychologist messing around with my child's mind." Rome was not built in a day. Neither are such attitudes overcome with a single conference. If viewed in a time perspective, however, such attitudes can be modified

as individual parents and groups of parents learn to understand better how the psychologist works and what his primary concerns are with respect to their children. Such parent conferences may be among the most vital forms of communication the school psychologist should endeavor to maintain.

A helpful guide to some of the issues and techniques involved in conferences with parents of children with whom the psychologist may have extended contacts is provided by a chapter in *The School Psychologist* by White and Harris (1961). The chapter, entitled "Psychological Therapy and Parents" is not restricted to issues of psychotherapy but deals in general with some of the considerations that are important in consulting with the parents of children with whom one is working.

Private Practice

In one sense the issues that surround private practice for the school psychologist are those that surround any private practice of psychologists. All the general stipulations of the APA Code on competence, misrepresentation, client welfare, and confidentiality apply.

There are, however, a few issues that seem particularly germane to the school psychologist's position. The school psychologist is in an extremely easy position to drum up trade, if such is his ambition. The APA Code states specifically that a psychologist does not accept on a fee-paying basis any client who is entitled to his services through an agency or institution. Obviously the school psychologist does not see on a fee basis a child who is entitled to his services as a pupil in a school served by the psychologist. The line, however, is sometimes hard to draw, and leaves the situation open to abuses. For this reason an accepted general principle is for the school psychologist to refrain from engaging in private practice with any children who are pupils of the school system by which he is employed.

In states that have licensing or certification laws for psychologists, private practice must be conducted within the limits of such laws and only by those persons licensed or certified to offer services to the public or to private individuals and to accept remuneration for such services. This provides at least a floor for

competent practice. This may be particularly important in states in which State Department of Education certification for school psychologists is at a relatively low level.

The issue of competence becomes a difficult one at best. The American Psychological Association has generally taken the approach that private practice by individual psychologists should be done only by those with a high level of training and experience (APA Board of Professional Affairs, 1960). In essence, the indication is that such practice is most appropriate for those holding a diploma of the American Board of Examiners in Professional Psychology or having a doctorate in psychology, plus three years of appropriate supervised experience. The board grants diplomas in clinical, counseling, and industrial psychology. For the school psychologist in private practice presumably the diploma in clinical or counseling would be appropriate. Applicants for examination by the board must meet the following requirements: membership in the APA or the equivalent Canadian association, a doctorate in psychology from an institution meeting APA standards, five years of acceptable professional experience (four of which must be postdoctoral), and present engagement in professional work in the field of specialty. A one-day written examination is given and an oral examination that deals with professional practice and responsibility (Kelley, Sanford, & Clark, 1961). ABEPP is, of course, the equivalent of the professional specialty boards in the field of medicine.

Not everyone will agree with the point of view that only persons of ABEPP status or its equivalent should engage in private practice. Yet this position certainly suggests the supreme importance of a high level of competence wherever one is practicing psychology without the mediating controls and supervision that exist in school systems, in hospital settings, and in clinics.

School psychologists are ordinarily employed by school systems as full-time personnel. Although this does not usually mean that they are forbidden to take outside employment, it does mean that with the current manpower situation, one's leisure time is apt to be somewhat limited if one is performing one's job adequately. This is obviously a decision that each psychologist must make within limits of his own competence and inclinations. He

must, however, be careful not to deplete his time and energy to the point that his school service is less adequate than it should be.

Making Oneself an Agent for Change in the Schools

For the most part, the varied roles suggested in this book for the psychologist in the schools do not develop from sitting back in an office waiting until someone refers a child or a problem. Some of these roles involve a certain amount of pump priming, that is, the creation of an awareness of a need. Others involve identifying situations that may be mental health hazards or learning handicaps for children. Still others involve the promotion of school changes that may lead to greater positive mental health and to more effective school learning. And so the question arises of how far one should go in making oneself an agent for change in the schools. The problem is not unlike that of the community mental health clinic when it looks beyond working with referred individuals to the broader mental health needs of the community, some of which may be unrecognized. This is perhaps a problem in meta-ethics; it is certainly not covered by the APA Code, except as it might relate to the issue of creating a demand for one's services.

There are two reasons, among others, why this is a point that may give the psychologist pause. One relates to the general professional principle already stated of advertising or promoting one's services. There is inherent in such principles the suggestion that one waits until one's services are requested. Yet it may also be seen as unethical in a broader way to let uncorrected ills continue, or improvements go unmade.

The other reason is a more deep-seated one. It is one pointed out by Lippitt (1959) in discussing the consultant's job. Lippitt suggests that each person who acts as consultant should examine closely his own motivation. Why is he making himself an agent for change? Is it for social betterment reasons; is it to satisfy one's own needs for aggrandizement; is it simply dissatisfaction with the *status quo* and with those in positions of authority? Most of all, can one be sure that his ideas are valuable? In brief, how promising are one's plans for change, how much are they likely to contribute to promoting better social, personal, and

educational development of the children in the schools? No one can provide a doctrinaire answer for another on this issue. But everyone should ask this question of himself if he would be ethical in the highest sense.

The psychologist in the schools each and every day will face decisions that have their ethical aspects. His first responsibility is to be fully aware of the ethical code that guides his science-profession of psychology and the Ethical Code of the National Association, which provides some guidelines for those working in the schools. But in addition, there are responsibilities associated with ethical decisions that do not lie within the limitations of the code, but that pertain to the highest aspirations of the profession and are only briefly shadowed in stated codes of ethics.

BEYOND THE CANONS OF THE LAW

As desirable as ethical codes may be in regulating practice, they are far from sufficient as controls leading to the provision of high-quality service for those persons who come for what help a particular profession may have to offer. As Miller's committee (APA, 1961, p. 9) points out, formalizing a code of ethics, with provisions for enforcement, serves to prevent some gross abuses. It may, however, permit, or actually encourage others. This is of course the old pastime of finding loopholes in the law: what is not specifically forbidden is permitted. A code sets a floor for ethical behavior; unfortunately this is floor from which some members of a profession may not seek to rise.

The Miller committee (APA, 1961, p. 7) suggests that the ultimate control over the conduct of a scientist or a professional is the internalization of a concept of the model role after which he is to pattern himself. Such internalization would make other controls unnecessary, if we assume the individual has the capacity to acquire the necessary skills and knowledge of his profession. But it is unlikely that all members of a science or profession will successfully internalize the role model, particularly when

that model is not entirely clear-cut or is changing. Some controls will therefore be necessary to compensate for a failure to internalize the model. More importantly, in a field such as psychology, where the role model is not always specific, some measures will be needed both to teach it and to facilitate its internalization.

There are a number of influences that are currently operative upon psychologists in their several areas of responsibility. The Miller committee (APA, 1961, pp. 14-26) identified twenty-six such influences, which they categorized under: interpersonal influences (peers, clients, teachers, editors, and so on); group membership influences (professional societies, training institutions, and the like); formal social regulatory influences (certifying and licensing boards, codes of ethics, accreditation, and so forth); plus a miscellaneous category. Much of the report is directed toward an examination of the probable and the optimal operation of these influences upon the various areas of responsibility faced by psychologists.

The most important of these influences is probably that of the small face-to-face group. The Miller report (APA, 1961) summarizes research on the primary group to date as indicating that: "Primary groups can: influence the rate and accuracy at which their members work; affect their beliefs, opinions, attitudes, and levels of aspiration; arrive at joint judgments superior to those of their members; support their members to make them more effective under stress" (p. 13). They go on to point out that not all influences of the primary groups, however, are so benign from the standpoint of potential effect on ethical behavior or the development of increasingly competent levels of functioning. Primary groups can grow so encapsulated that they become parochial; they can become resistant towards outside pressures to meet higher standards of performance. A particularly serious hazard may be the rejecting of the creative nonconformist.

Within limits of such cautions as those just mentioned, however, the group of immediate peers—his fellow psychological workers—are probably the most potent influence upon the individual psychologist in facilitating ethical behavior, particularly in the area of increasing competence that goes beyond a code of ethics. The last chapter, in considering professional development for

the school psychologist, stressed the importance of keeping close to the mainstream of psychology and where possible of forming some identification with a university department. This was suggested as one of the better ways of attempting to keep up with one's field. Here we come to a similar point, but for another reason. This is the importance for the school psychologist of maintaining regular and frequent contacts with other psychologists for purposes of checking his own judgments and actions as he goes about his daily rounds. For some, who work in large departments, this comes easily and naturally. For others, more isolated, maintaining such contacts may call for considerable ingenuity and time.

The value of such continuing contacts has been well described in an address by Stuart W. Cook (1957) that suggested the title for this section of the present chapter: *Beyond Law and Ethics: A Proposal for Collaboration in Psychological Practice*. Cook makes the point that the creation of such a professional environment, where one expects to receive from and give help to colleagues, can serve two major purposes. First, one receives direct help in the way of advice and support in his day-by-day decisions. More importantly, one is being influenced by the expectations of others. For the majority of psychologists, their professional colleagues are the most immediate representatives of professional standards and even aspirations. The establishing of a climate in which such interdependence would be easy and natural, and the developing of avenues for such communication, will not always be simple, but it is entirely possible provided one has the willingness to expend the time and energy demanded. Cook suggests three essential activities that should be incorporated into such avenues of communication:

First, it should be acceptable and easy to ask a colleague for a check on one's judgment, either in person or by telephone. Second, there should be the opportunity and the obligation to discuss one's own work at regular intervals with a small group of colleagues—perhaps a version of the continuous case seminar. Third, there should be regularly scheduled occasions for one to review with colleagues new developments in the field which have bearing on psychological practice.

School psychologists who work in relative isolation may feel that this is a counsel of perfection, or at least unrealistic. The hard fact of the matter is, however, that it is just such psychologists who are most in need of the kind of collaboration of which Cook is speaking. It is far from impossible. It is a rare school psychologist indeed who does not have two or more of his breed somewhere within radius of fifty miles. A telephone call of several minutes will cost only a dollar. Meetings every two to four weeks are hardly prohibitive in terms of time. And the rewards can be great.

School psychologists seem particularly vulnerable to pressures that would lead them away from developing the highest quality in their work. There is always a waiting list of referrals, and a long one. There is usually a willingness on the part of a school staff to be satisfied with a rather limited role for the school psychologist. There is a temptation to lose one's identification with the field of psychology, and thus fail to keep up with the advancing field. Such vulnerability means that the school psychologist in particular must guard himself against slipping into comfortable routines, where he goes ahead satisfying the immediate demands of others as best he can but does little to attempt to live up to the higher aspirations of his profession.

Thus the school psychologist may well look to his peers, his fellow school psychologists, for the mutual advice, support, and aspiration-building that can help him realize the rich potentials of psychology for helping the schools of the nation promote the welfare of children. Such arrangements as Cook suggests may not be easy. But they may well be our best hope of encouraging each school psychologist to go beyond simply abiding by the canons of the law to a fuller realization of his professional and scientific responsibility.

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16

THE WIDE PROSPECT

The continent of Europe received its name from the people of Asia Minor, who looked across the Aegean to the broad shores of Greece. The Greek *Εὐρώπη* means *the wide prospect*, and so it must have looked from over the waters, a land of promise and of possibilities. School psychologists today often find themselves in a morass of unmet demands for service, but they may look beyond it to a future that will not be easy, but that is full of broad possibilities for the creative and productive use of psychology in the schools. This book has attempted to examine at length some of these possibilities and to offer suggestions for ways of making them viable in the world of today and tomorrow. Much of what has been discussed in the way of possible modes of functioning is being done by some school psychologists somewhere; what is new, perhaps, is the patterning of these and the relating of them to a central theme. Now as a brief reprise, we shall look once more at what school psychology has been and what it may become in future years.

THE PAST, THE PRESENT, AND THE POSSIBLE

The Years Behind

Until well into the mid-century school psychology in America has been dominated by two general approaches in providing psychological services for the schools.

The first of these is the testing-placement function that over the years has grown up from the need to assign children appropriately to special classes. This is probably most clearly revealed in the certification practices of the bulk of the several states that now, through their boards of education, certify psychologists for work in the schools. These standards were set up with the most laudable of motives: to protect children, their parents, and the schools from inadequately trained testers. Such certification tends to define minimum standards by which a person can be certified for such work. Thus, we find that as late as 1960 (Hodges, 1960) only four states prescribed the doctorate for such work, and even these four allowed the master's degree on a lower level of certification. But standards that are meant to set a floor all too often appear to establish a ceiling as well. No one can deny that the testing-placement function is one of tremendous importance to the schools. But neither can anyone deny that it has limited school psychology in its possible development.

The other general approach has been that of shaping school psychological services after a clinical model. This has been discussed at full length in Chapter 2. Suffice it here to say that the tremendous prestige of clinical psychology in the years following World War II has caused many workers to attempt to cast school psychology into a clinical mold. Perhaps this is part of the picture that sees service in the human welfare professions as being chiefly concerned with aiding the unfortunate, with curing or alleviating illness.

But while these two modes of functioning may have dominated the first half of the twentieth century, there has been awareness among certain people, both in and outside the field, that the potentials of psychology for serving the schools are far broader

than either of these two narrow approaches might suggest. There have been psychologists in the schools who have served as pioneers in finding new and creative ways to adapt psychological knowledge to the emerging needs of the schools. Unfortunately such persons have been too few, too much like Wordsworth's Lucy, "Fair as a star, when only one is shining in the sky." Our need for the present and future is to create a whole firmament of stars, school psychologists who can give vitality to a broader role for the practitioners of their discipline.

The Present Years

Since the days of ancient Greece, every age has seen itself as in a process of rapid change, of mad activity, of divorce from the standards and values of the past. Our own era, however, has set in motion such changes that most of us have great difficulty in imagining the world of even two decades hence.

Within this time the exploding world population will have increased so greatly that it will be pressing hard upon its spatial environment. Scientific and technological advance promise changes almost beyond our reckoning. The exploration of space has opened up an ever-expanding frontier. New industrial techniques, especially automation and the computer processes, suggest almost complete changes in the workaday world and that of leisure.

Against this background of violent, powerful, and rapid change, one may see the school psychologist—like any other professional—as a puny creature indeed. In sense he is puny; in another he may be strong. In mankind's race between education and catastrophe, those on the side of education, of helping man adapt his potentials to the imperatives of the age, will be the ones who can aid in overtaking catastrophe. Each individual contribution may be small, but added together they help in the uneven race where catastrophe all too often seems to have the headstart. For psychology does have promise of making some contribution to human betterment through its application in the schools. Psychology is only one of many fields of endeavor that must be adapted for the future welfare of the human race, but its potential contribution is not minor.

The Possible

The By-Laws of the American Psychological Association (APA, 1962, p. xi) state that among its objects "shall be to advance psychology as a science and as a means of promoting human welfare by the encouragement of psychology in all its branches in the broadest and most liberal manner . . ." In obtaining this objective, the psychologist working in the schools has one of the most direct of opportunities. For no other institution in our society makes contact with all of society's members over so long a period of time and during their formative years. Thus the schools provide one of the richest of all fields for the productive application of psychology to human welfare. Because psychology, however, like life itself, is rapidly expanding, developing new knowledge, it is folly to specify just what knowledge is or will be needed in the years to come. Instead we must devise ways of imparting new knowledge and in applying new skills as they develop, and as situations arise for which they are particularly suited. But to do this effectively, the psychologist working in the schools must take a long stride forward, one whereby he plants his foot firmly in the new opportunities and emerging demands of the years ahead. There will be no easy choices for the school psychologist of tomorrow. He can choose a future where his ready-made ways of functioning will continue to grow less and less adequate for the increasing and changing needs of the schools. He can choose a future where the application of psychological knowledge will be difficult and demanding but will hold the possibility of making a major contribution to the schools, and to the society of which they are a part.

A NOT-IMPOSSIBLE SHE—OR HE: THE NEW PSYCHOLOGIST IN THE SCHOOLS

This whole book has been an attempt to present a role for the psychologist working in the schools that would be more broadly effective than traditional roles, and to tie this role in

with the day-by-day life of the schools, and what is practicable within them. In a sense it has been an attempt to suggest a patterning of possible functions that may seem visionary to those who would comment as Dr. Watson did upon Sherlock Holmes's deductions, "It all seems rather fanciful."

It is the writer's belief and hope, however, that such an approach is not fanciful, that it is feasible and appropriate to the years which lie ahead. It must be seen in a time perspective, not merely in terms of what school people are ready to accept today and what psychologists are able to provide for them at this point of time.

A Fresh Look

The most viable approaches in the future will be those that arise from looking anew at the needs of the schools and at what psychology has to offer, and then devising imaginative and creative ways to adapt emerging knowledge and skills in psychology to those needs. Too often over the years, school psychologists, as others in the helping professions, have lived in a Looking Glass World. Here Alice runs frantically to keep up with the Red Queen and then finds that she is under the same tree where she started. The Red Queen explains to Alice, "It takes all the running *you* can do, to keep in the same place. If you want to get somewhere else, you must run at least twice as fast as that!" Now "running twice as fast," as Katherine D'Evelyn (1961) points out in a provocative address of that title to the Division of School Psychologists of the American Psychological Association, is not simply a matter of picking up one's feet more quickly. School psychology must develop a whole new method of locomotion if it is to double its speed—if it is to get somewhere else in the future. In the landscape of infinite possibilities that lie ahead, school psychology will have many opportunities for new and productive approaches to familiar and to strange problems; it is up to the members of the profession to find their appropriate places in that landscape.

The particular solution that each school psychologist—or each training institution—reaches must depend upon the special resources and the particular settings in which individuals work

and within which training programs are developed. It would be surprising, and unfortunate, if any one solution were so generally adopted that there was not room for continued exploration as situations change and as knowledge of human behavior grows apace.

But any solution, for the individual school psychologist or for the training institution, if it is to be valid, must reckon with the need to keep the practice of psychology close to the growing edge of knowledge in the field. In the chapter on professional development it was suggested that the school psychologist, who is almost inevitably caught up in the urgencies of the daily life of the school, must make a particular effort to maintain a balanced commitment in his professional life. Such a commitment must be different for every individual. But for each it must include some careful ordering of priorities in terms of what is ultimately most important, plans for offsetting the occupational hazards that are peculiar to one's profession, and some ways of remaining a scholar in one's field and a contributor to the knowledge of that field.

For any school psychologist, *qua* psychologist, the most crucial balance will probably be that between the scientist and the professional.

Over the years psychology in America has tended to shift back and forth between an emphasis on the primary importance of every professional's being also a scientist and a capitulation to what has seemed almost inevitable, a dividing of the ways where persons are scientists or professionals, not both. In the years before World War II there flourished alongside the American Psychological Association (a primarily scientific body) the American Association of Applied Psychology (AAAP). At the end of the war, the two societies were fused, and the AAAP absorbed into the APA, which became recognized as the scientific *and* professional national society of psychologists. But slightly a decade after the two were merged, a group of experimentalists formed the Psychonomic Society since they wished to meet without the distractions of the professional concerns they felt had become too large a part of the APA.

Despite this wavering back and forth, it is possible to take the

point of view—and many thoughtful psychologists do see it thus—that the future of professional psychology, and indeed of scientific psychology, will be best served if it is possible for the psychological scientist and the professional to keep house in the same tenement of clay—to use once again William James's apt expression. This is not the professional model used in many of the older professions, as for example in medicine, where clear distinctions are drawn between the two. It is not a simple or obvious way to approach the increasing professionalization of a field. It may be our best chance, however, of developing a profession that keeps close to the sources of its knowledge, insights, and skills, the science upon which the practice is based. And in addition, the constant feeding back of observations and questions from practitioner to scientist can help promote theory-building and give direction to research. This constant interplay is of particular importance in a discipline, such as psychology, that is rapidly expanding both in scientific knowledge and in services to the public. Of primary significance to the school psychologist, such an amalgamation of scientist and professional makes possible an attack upon those problems of the schools—of which there are many—that are amenable to a research approach.

Some may find this a counsel of perfection. Yet in essence this emphasis on the scientist-professional has been explicit in the major conferences on graduate training that the American Psychological Association has held over the years, from the Boulder Conference on training in clinical psychology (Raimy, 1950) to the Miami Conference on graduate education in psychology (Roe, 1959). The training of the scientist-professional, and the alternate ways sometimes proposed for training separately for the science and for the practice, has been the subject of an essay by Stuart W. Cook (1958), in which he examines the relative merits of the various approaches. His conclusion is that, difficult as it may be to train the scientist-professional and then to enable him to maintain this role in his work, it offers our best hope of avoiding a "commonplace profession and a disembodied science."

Cook stresses not only what the scientist can contribute to the professional, but also the importance of the insights and ob-

servations of the critical, data-oriented professional for theory-building and theory-testing by the scientist. Thus he suggests that the research training of all psychologists who will work in applied fields should be directly in the subject matter of their professional work. There is scant basis in actual practice for our pious hope that studies of the influence of brain lesions upon avoidance conditioning will somehow generalize to problems of classroom learning. Cook goes on to suggest the development of ways that would encourage the professional psychologist to communicate with his colleagues in the field and the laboratory those observations and hypotheses of his that might have potential scientific value. This might be done through providing discussion time at professional and scientific meetings for them, by providing some reasonable mode of publication for such observations, and by developing collaborative groups of professional psychologists who could give their members mutual support for such scientific contributions. Above all, it must be done through continuous contacts with one's fellow scientist-professionals. We may return to Clark's (1957) finding, in his survey of American psychologists, that the single most important factor in research productivity, as listed by the psychologists themselves, was the stimulation and encouragement of others. Cook (1957), in another article, has suggested that such continuing contact with one's psychological peers also serves the purposes of raising one's aspirations in terms of one's own professional competence.

The school psychologist, who comes into daily contact with children of all ages, and with their teachers, is in a particularly advantageous position to make observation upon human behavior in its regularities and its diversities. He is also in a highly strategic position from the standpoint of working in a setting where many practical and applied problems of human behavior cry out for critical observation and research. Any measures that the school psychologist as an individual, or his profession as a group, can undertake to make viable the role of the scientist-professional will serve the cause of enabling psychology to make a contribution to the schools—a contribution rich in potential but still far short of its ultimate realization.

The Hard Options of the Future

This book began with the suggestion that school psychology was like an adolescent in its present stage of development. It is changing rapidly, facing new demands, fresh opportunities. It can become an adult, a mature field of psychological application and science, or it can continue with its old modes of adjustment, which will become increasingly inadequate as time goes on. Growing up is painful; but one must move forward or else one will surely slip backward.

But it is not enough to issue a challenge. The reader may remember Glendower's proud boast from King Henry IV: "I can call spirits from the vasty deep." But there is also Hotspur's reply, "Why so can I, or so can any man. But do they come when you do call for them?"

Only time will tell whether school psychologists will come when they are called, whether they will rise to this challenge of the times. It is the writer's belief and hope that our profession can do so. The whole field of education is reaching out for new answers to the fresh and the familiar problems that beset it. Psychologists are becoming increasingly aware of their social responsibility and are searching for promising ways of fulfilling that responsibility. All the mental health professions are concerning themselves with ways of making services more broadly effective in the future. Among school psychologists there are increasing numbers of individuals looking to the application of new modes of functioning that will enable them to have greater impact in meeting the needs of children in the schools.

The time is ripe, then, for school psychology to take a long step forward, to complete its adolescence, and to emerge a mature discipline adequate to the new and varied demands of the as-yet-uncertain years that lie ahead. Some of this may be done by major changes in modes of training and in ways of functioning within the profession. Some of it will be done by the small day-by-day acts through which the individual school psychologist moves forward to make tangible his vision of what an optimal role for the school psychologist could be. Thus, by small and sometimes by large innovations in practice and in training, school

psychology may attain the realization of that rich potential it possesses.

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